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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 September 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW HEAD OF KARL MARX UNIVERSITY

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 8, Aug 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 795-797

[Article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, chief editor of the East-West Division of German Radio in Cologne: "Change of leadership at the cadre training school"]

[Text] The most important training institution of the GDR's state party has a new head. Kurt Tiedke, who last was the first secretary of the Magdeburg SED Bezirk Management, has been appointed the new rector of the Karl Marx party college under the SED Central Committee. Prof Hanna Wolf, relieved of her function "for health reasons on her own request," received a solemn adieu from Prof Kurt Hager, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, on 22 June. "He paid tribute to the communist steadfastness of comrade Wolf throughout the struggles of our times and the great contribution she has made during her 30-year activity as rector of the party college to spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the training and education of thousands of functionaries."\* Even so, no one is likely to shed any tears over the 75 year old comrade who surely deserves her veteran's status. Hanna Wolf is among those GDR communists who in their thinking never could properly shed the Stalinist structures and still remained in office when Stalinism was to be renounced.

Originally a teacher by profession, KPD member since 1930, and active in party education already during her exile in the Soviet Union, her being assigned with running the Karl Marx party college in 1950 was an ominous decision in cadre policy.\*\* Hanna Wolf, who apparently wanted to compensate for the presumed defect of her petty bourgeois origin through rigid dogmatism, in a fatal manner involved herself in the political-ideological disciplining of thousands of leadership cadre in the party and state of the GDR. Under her leadership the Karl Marx party college turned into a forge for cadre the more than hundred professors, lecturers and assistants of which today are in charge of always between 1,200 and 1,400 students taking direct and correspondence courses. A final examination at this central educational institution of the SED amounts to an entry ticket to the "nomenklatura."

\*"New Rector at the Karl Marx Party College," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 June 1983.

\*\*On Hanna Wolf's biography cf. Guenther Buch, "Namen und Daten" [Names and Dates], 3rd ed., Bonn/Berlin 1982, p 352.

To describe Hanna Wolf's ideas it suffices to quote from her discussion contribution to the 11th Central Committee plenum in December 1965, in which the SED settled with its revisionist critics. In a virtually model fashion Hanna Wolf justified the denial to discuss Stalinism, provoked also in the SED by the 20th CPSU Congress: "I believe the comrades who just cannot get finished with these matters patently are not ready or have not felt their way into the essence of our party deeply or scientifically enough. Otherwise it may be that the impression is created the history of the Soviet Union since Lenin's death had been a history of failure and there was nothing but a cult of the personality, as some comrades evidently are talking of a 'period of the cult of personality' in the Soviet Union, thinking they thereby have told the truth. But that is not the truth at all! Granted, there has been a cult of personality in the Soviet Union, but is that the truth about the Soviet Union, about socialism? I think the truth about socialism is that the Soviet Union was the first to establish socialism under the conditions of a capitalist environment, carry out industrialization and collectivization and thereby create the prerequisites for the victory over fascism. That, after all, is what matters."\* That is the very image of Hanna Wolf!

Will things get moving now at the party college? The name of Kurt Tiedke offers no guarantee for that. At an age of 59 today, a survey technician by trade, SED member since 1948, he himself came out of the cadre forge which he now runs. After studying there in the early 1950's, he became a lecturer and assistant instructor and then attended the CPSU Central Committee party college in Moscow from 1954 to 1957, from where he returned home to East Berlin as a graduate social scientist.\*\* In the SED he then was in charge of political-ideological leadership assignments, first again at the Karl Marx party college, teaching, then as the second man in the propaganda department of the Central Committee apparatus and later, between 1961 and 1979, as its head.

In 1979, the party ordered him into the province. He was to get some practical experiences for a few years as the first secretary of the Magdeburg SED Bezirk Management. Since 1963, he had been SED Central Committee candidate, in 1967 he became a Central Committee member. Being appointed the rector of the Karl Marx party college, he returned to his most personal tasks. For all that, his political ideas were decisively formed only in the post-Stalinist era. Not only in terms of age but also politically he belongs to a different generation than Hanna Wolf. His work in Magdeburg Bezirk is likely to have given him insights into ordinary socialist life denied to his zealous predecessor. Anyone who knows him says he is clever and critical, a good speaker, though not completely free from doctrinaire constraints, a man in any case whose career has not yet reached its zenith.

The same is hardly true of Kurt Tiedke's successor as the first Magdeburg Bezirk secretary, Werner Eberlein. For him, who is now 63 years of age, electrician by trade, journalist and social scientist, Central Committee member since the 10th SED Congress, and up to now deputy chief of the party organ department in the Central Committee apparatus, the decline into the province is likely to

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\*Hanna Wolf, "The Class Standpoint Remains the Most Important," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 December 1965.

\*\*On Kurt Tiedke's biography cf. People's Chamber Handbook, "Die Volkskammer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik/8. Wahlperiode" (Eighth Legislative Period), East Berlin, 1982, p 595.

become his final stop in politics. Something hushed up in the GDR is this: Eberlein's father Hugo, cofounder of the KPD in 1918 and once one of the most influential functionaries in the party's illegal apparatus, a longtime member of the Central Committee and of the Politburo, vanished in Soviet exile--a victim of the Stalinist purges.\*

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\*Kaethe Aebi and Irmfried Gross, "Our Conduct is Marked by Optimism and Creativeness," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22 June 1983.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW USSR AMBASSADOR IN EAST BERLIN

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 16 No 8, Aug 83 (signed to press 20 Jul 83) pp 789-790

[Article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, chief editor of the East-West Division of German Radio in Cologne: "Andropov's Man in Berlin"]

[Text] The new landlord of the USSR embassy in East Berlin is an acquaintance of long standing there. Vyacheslav Ivanovich Kochemasov has worked at the edifice at Unter den Linden for several years, from 1955 to 1960. Nonetheless, his being appointed the new Soviet ambassador in the GDR was somewhat of a surprise because Kochemasov had quit the foreign service of his country more than two decades ago.

His biography is easily made out:\* Born in 1918, of Russian descent, graduate of the Institute for Water Transport in Gorki, member of the CPSU since 1942--that takes care of the first milestones on his path. His political career began with his joining the party. Having gained his credentials in the Komsomol--ultimately as the first oblast secretary in Gorki--he came to Moscow in 1948. There he assumed executive responsibilities in the Antifascist Committee of Soviet Youth as its chairman from 1949 to 1954. Between 1949 and 1955 he was simultaneously the Komsomol Central Committee secretary. At that time he took his first trips to East Berlin. He attended as a prominent guest the two Germany meetings the FDJ sponsored in the eastern part of the old Reich capital at Whitsun 1950 and 1954.

In 1955 he was transferred to the foreign service. He was to be assigned to the Soviet embassy in East Berlin, first as ambassadorial counselor, then as envoy. A diplomatic career seemed assured when he was assigned, in 1960, to the foreign ministry in Moscow as the deputy of the Third Europe Department dealing with Germany and Austria. In charge of executive functions in the State Committee for Foreign Cultural Affairs from 1961 to 1962, he found his foreign service career interrupted when, on 17 July 1962, he was promoted to deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR. That is the function he kept until he was appointed ambassador in East Berlin.

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\*Cf. "New USSR Ambassador Appointed in the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 June 1983; and Leo Wieland, "Moscow's New Man in East Berlin," FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 14 June 1983.



Expected to assume his official functions in September, Kochemasov will replace P. A. Abrasimov. He is the USSR's ninth ambassador to the GDR. Yet there are only seven names on that list because two of them filled that post twice.\* No other ambassador to the GDR stayed as long as Abrasimov, to be sure, who resided in East Berlin for 17 years. There is much that supports the speculation that he, on occasion called the "reigning ambassador" or the "Soviet vice king," was recalled on Honecker's insistence. Conspicuous also is the point in time at which Abrasimov had to surrender his office: right after Erich Honecker's friendship visit to the Kremlin (3 to 7 May). Principally however, his settling for the modest post as chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Tourism indicates that his fund of knowledge about Germany politics hardly rates any longer in Moscow. There is no denying his merits as a co-architect of the Quadripartite Agreement, but he had often acted with arrogance, without regard for protocol and the sensitivities on the GDR top echelon. Chances are Honecker could not stand him anymore in the end.

Another interesting indicator is that Honecker and Kochemasov have been on cordial terms for decades. As can be read in the memoirs of today's party and government chief, he first met Kochemasov in 1948 when he stayed in Berlin. Erich Honecker recalls that and quotes Kochemasov as follows: "We talked a long time about the state of political awareness among German youth, the tasks and goals of the FDJ and the experiences of the Soviet youth association. Comrade Honecker developed in this regard a clear program, which was as relevant as it was pioneering, for the antifascist and socialist education of the young generation. These talks and my meetings with other FDJ members and functionaries gave me the assurance that a new generation is growing up that will make a great contribution to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism, and the consolidation of friendship with the Soviet Union."\*\* Their first personal meeting was followed by other meetings, especially during the years when Honecker headed the FDJ, nor are the two likely to have avoided each other while Kochemasov was with the embassy in East Berlin.

In turn, Abrasimov's successor also is likely to have ties to General Secretary Yuri Andropov who between 1957 and 1967, in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, was in charge of international contacts with the parties of the socialist states. That also put him in touch with Kochemasov; a straight line to Andrey Gromyko also might be assumed. He was already Soviet foreign minister when Kochemasov assumed his tasks in the Third Europe Department. It certainly is going to have an effect on their dealings with each other that again someone assumes the most important diplomatic foreign post of the USSR within the socialist camp who enjoys the confidence, if not the benevolence, of Honecker and Andropov and Gromyko. Politically, Kochemasov's value has been raised again meanwhile: CPSU Central Committee candidate since 1966, the Central Committee June plenum in Moscow, a few days after he was appointed ambassador, coopted him as member.\*\*\* That conforms with the normal political status of a Soviet ambassador in a Warsaw Pact member state.

\*Chiefs of the USSR diplomatic mission in the GDR: G. M. Pushkin (1949-1952); Y.Y. Ilyichov (1952-1953); V. S. Zemlyonov (1953-1954); G. M. Pushkin (1954-1958); M. G. Pevukhin (1958-1962); P. A. Abrasimov (1962-1971); M. T. Yefremov (1971-1975); P. A. Abrasimov (1975-1983).

\*\*Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" [From My Life] Frankfurt, 1980, p 152.

\*\*\*Cf. "Yuri Andropov Spoke at CPSU Central Committee Plenum," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 June 1983.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG DAILY ON PROBLEMS WITH 'WORKER COMPOSERS' GROUPS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Aug 83 p 21

/Article by Harald Budde: "Music Chums: Amateur Composing in GDR"/

[Text] Sometimes ago, MUSIK UND GESELLSCHAFT, the professional journal of the Association of Composers and Musicologists in the GDR (VKM), wrote as follows: The national musical output of the GDR, "as a specific area of socialist culture, faces demanding tasks during the next years." In this connection, the monthly journal calls to mind the "Movement of Composing Workers": "The amateur compositions deserve to be noted, since the promotion of creative talents is an important cultural-political task for enriching the artistic national output and the cultural everyday life of workers." The SED will therefore try to revivify the movement of organized amateur composers.

At the first Bitterfeld Conference on 24 April 1959, Ulbricht's cultural functionaries approached the public with the call, which was frequently quoted and parodied later on, "Take pen in hand, fellow worker, the socialist German national culture needs you!" They addressed not only those interested in literature but also the amateur composers. The first groups of writing workers arose at that time, and a "circle of composing workers" was formed, for example in the VEB (State Enterprise) Chemical Works Buna in Halle, Eisleben, Magdeburg, and Leipzig. The social supporters of these circles, which later on received a new designation ("Circles of Composing Workers"), were enterprises, clubhouses, and cabinets for cultural work. Today, in the GDR, there still exist only 10 groups of composing workers, and nothing is said about them.

Starting from the cultural-political requirements of the first Bitterfeld Conference, the cultural functionaries in Ulbricht's time were primarily interested in presenting to the SED leadership the fastest possible visible successes. This presupposed that one had to win over workers for the circles of amateur artists. But the workers had other worries than letting themselves be harnessed to Ulbricht's cultural-political hobbyhorse. Instead there came a series of older people, who had once wanted to study music, but who had been torn from their professional development by the war. Now, busy in other occupations or already retirees, they chose composing as a leisure-time occupation or as an enrichment for the eve of life. Characteristic of the "movement of composing workers" in the sixties is the example of the "circle of composing workers" at the VEB German Securities Print Shop (Leipzig). Of the eight group members in 1965, only one, namely the octogenarian Alfred Krampe, was a former worker. The

remaining members, mainly likewise retirees, were composed of a former engraver, corrector, physician, and two teachers. The piano builder Harald Kessel, who was 40, was the youngest member.

In another respect too, Ulbricht's functionaries were disappointed: Many amateur composers limited themselves to nonpolitical song writing, where the accompanied solo song predominated. Some groups, for example the one led by Hansgeorg Mühe in Leipzig, also address themselves to writing completely nonpolitical instrumental pieces for chamber music ensembles or chansons. Only in a few cases, did especially talented members of the circle take up direct or evening study at a college of music, so that their previous leisure-time occupation became a profession. Others again gave up composing, because systematic work was too laborious for them.

Another hindrance on the path towards a collective of composing amateurs was the fact, which already appeared at that time, that the circles were never taken seriously by most professional composers. Frequently, the regional organizations of the VKM refused any kind of support to the existing groups of composing workers. In this connection, MUSIK UND GESELLSCHAFT remarked: "If we except the few outstanding amateur composers who are able to establish themselves, one must observe a certain stagnation at the beginning of the seventies. Many amateur composers did not continue to develop artistically and stylistically, which was partly also based on their age. Because youthful persons scarcely remained in these circles..."

In 1981, in Schwerin, the ninth workshop of composing workers set down a program to gain more young talents - especially trainees and young workers. At that time, the amateur composers were guided more strongly by the SED, "to write music that is needed, that can become socially effective," for example, "songs for current occasions...: for our republic, on the topic of German-Soviet friendship, for sport, for defense readiness, for enhancing socialist patriotism."

However, most amateur composers feel no inclination to set to music the brigade manuals, political lead articles, or SED encomiums. Consequently, the circles are losing more and more members. Within the framework of the Ninth Workshop of Composing Workers, it was also unmistakably admitted that, despite the most intense efforts, it had not been possible to move young persons to enter the circles. Since 1965, the number of groups of composing workers in the GDR has declined by half, while the still existing circles have become isolated. They indeed continue to receive financial funding, but the artistic results of their work stand in crass contradiction to the material expenditure. From the development of the "circles of composing workers", one can read off especially clearly that the "Bitterfeld Path", once so praised by the SED, has led to a blind alley. This also has not changed by the new attempt on the part of the SED, "to draw the amateur composers more comprehensively into the territorial planning and management of cultural processes."

LOCAL GREENS MOVEMENT'S ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Vienna PROFIL in German No 32, 8 Aug 83 pp 35-36

[Article by Matthias Reichl: "It's Raining Dirt Like Crazy--After the Peace Movement Environmentalists Are Also Coming Into Being in the Other Germany--The Churches Offer the Forum"]

[Text] "Disarmament from below" is the recommendation of a "peace circle" in the East German city of Naumberg in a letter to "dear friends": "Let one citizen of the GDR conclude a personal peace treaty which symbolically commits both sides with three citizens of the FRG." The treaty partners, according to the recommended formulation, "stand for immediate mutual disarmament proposals up to complete disarmament and begin the process with the individual. They declare that they will not shoot at one another."

The events which occurred in Jena, where young idealists were arrested by the dozens and dispatched to the West after holding public "minutes of silence for peace," do not appear to have broken the independent peace movement in the GDR. Quite the contrary: on the evangelical Church Day in Dresden last month 100,000 people flocked to the largest religious gathering to date on East German soil. Church Council President Manfred Stolpe spoke of the "madness of the arms race" and called upon both German states to be "bridge-builders of understanding in accordance with their special mutual duty to make peace."

For days before the gathering on the Dresden kite meadow thousands of participants in the working group discussed the maintenance of peace and other human questions in parsonages and private apartments. In type-written self-definitions the regional "peace circles" set themselves apart from the government's peace propaganda, which is directed only against NATO's "counterarmament." Like the peace movement in the West, many of them demand that people "stand up in their own country for the start of unilateral disarmament measures."

"For us," says the Dresden peace circle, "being for peace is more than being against war." For them it's a matter of harmony among human beings, between human beings and their environment. And "for us peace means that the human worth and personality of others is respected and that personal freedom is not restricted." In the real socialism these words, appropriately understood, have immense explosive power.

The East German friends of peace understand them this way: disarmament in the children's room and the school and the creation of a nonmilitary social Peace Service for conscientious objectors. Up to now the leaders of the GDR have considered war games to be patriotic; during instruction in military science schoolchildren learn military command structures and engage in maneuver-like scouting games; since 1964 approximately 3000 conscientious objectors who refused to carry weapons--and who had to put up with professional disadvantages--have served as "construction soldiers," while those who refused all military service have landed behind bars.

The friends of peace in the GDR are concerned most of all about the social conditions around them and also about the state of the environment itself. In Dresden, where activists in this movement who are close to the church mixed with interested believers, the ecological working group drew the largest number of people.

Using several air-polluted localities as examples they discussed the taboo topic of environmental pollution.

"Over here the apple trees lost their leaves in May and the parsley is white," the inhabitants of the little place of Moelbis in the brown coal region south of Leipzig reported. They were advised not to eat any more of what was growing in their gardens, according to a woman from Erzgebirge mountains which are covered in the smoke of North Bohemian coal-burning power plants. "When the west wind blows the dirt comes down like crazy," says a resident of Moelbis, "so that if I want to get a good night's sleep I have to get totally drunk the night before." In the city of Halle, which has chemical and coal industries, the number of children suffering from bronchitis is twice the national average for the GDR.

"We produce to beat the devil, and then have to give the devil his due," they said at the Dresden Church Day. Even more than in the West many citizens of the GDR put up with the environment-devil in order finally to be able to acquire the consumer goods they want. In the language of the real socialism: "For an additional 100 marks workers will still move to our area in sufficient numbers. Knowing that they are doing pioneer work to increase production they will also put up with the poisoned environment."

In addition, the formation of alliances of dissidents along the lines of Western citizens' initiatives is a punishable offense in the GDR; even private meetings may be "inimical to the state." The evangelical church provides the only room to maneuver; the church acknowledged in principle the social order of the GDR in 1978 and thereby enlarged its sphere of action.

It's true that since 1970 the GDR has had strict environmental protection regulations and that the minister responsible for these matters solicits for "the active development of environmental restrictions," but productivity usually comes first and pollution levels remain secret.

The ecclesiastical "Wittenberg Research Facility" provides the missing facts in its "Orientation Briefs in the Man-Nature Conflict," gives some information

about the liquid-manure problem in the industrialized agricultural economy or discussed the American environmental study "Global 2000."

The church can forward complaints from believers through the State Secretary's Office to the responsible ministries. Courageous individual citizens can only send "petitions" in their own name to the government, which may reject them in advance along with those of other petitioners. Suffering from intolerable industrial exhaust gases the residents of Moelbis in the Borna district sent such petitions to the Central Committee of the Socialist Union Party of the GDR, in which they complained of the "infringement of socialist law with serious national-economic damage and significant reduction in the living conditions of working citizens."

At the Dresden Church Day the indignation was vented in a lighter atmosphere: at information stations around the Martin Luther Church, between signs with slogans such as "The uninformed of today are the uniformed of tomorrow," diagrams showed the degree to which the environment has been destroyed: 86 percent of the GDR's bodies of water are heavily or very heavily polluted; in the cities the CO-content of the air during peak traffic hours is ten times the permitted level; in the Erzgebirge mountains several thousand hectares of forest are said to be up to 50 percent damaged.

The organizers of the Church Day (their motto: "Dare to trust, so that we may live") themselves provided for precensorship. One information stand at which a peace circle had questioned "trust in the government" together with information material which was to be distributed by a homosexual and lesbian group had to be removed.

The defenders of the government restrained themselves even when about 100 young people held an evening meeting on Prague Street in the center of Dresden ("We come from the denuded mountains"). The church organizers, called in by the police, shooed the participants back to their tent camp.

But some of the eastern "Ecopeaceers" don't have confidence in this peace. They believe that in the fall at the latest, when the counterarmament debate culminates, the sudden tolerance will be over.

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WESTERN VIEWS OF TOURISM IN COUNTRY NOTED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Jul 83 p 9

[Article by Gy. A.: "Do We Know Anything about Tourism? How Others See Us"]

[Text] We are in the peak season. The inner city of Budapest and both banks of the Balaton are full of foreign guests. Tourism has not been able to escape entirely from the effect of the economic slump affecting the entire world, but in our homeland the difficulties affect this branch of the economy least of all. According to HANDELSBLATT or REISEBURO BULLETIN in the FRG, only the tourism of Bulgaria and Hungary, out of the CEMA countries, has developed favorably in recent years; Yugoslavia's income from this source, for example, decreased by 24 percent in 1982 as compared to the preceding year. Last year Czechoslovakia had 450,000 West German visitors, with an average stay of 4 days, but for Hungary these 2 figures are 684,000 visitors and 9 days. Compared to 1978, the number of visitors from the FRG to our homeland has increased by more than 150,000. These data are from the most recent publication of the Commercial Organization Institute, which reports on how the development, achievements and problems of Hungarian tourism are evaluated abroad.

Something They Have Nowhere Else!

The publication sought an answer to the question "How do they view us?" in the communications of the international trade press. It is noteworthy first of all that in recent years the attraction of tourism to our country has spread beyond Budapest and the Balaton not only to our spas but also to the unique interests of the Hungarian countryside. A member of the BONNER RUNDSCHAU, writing about us, emphasizes that the tourism experts of Hungary, without high mountains or sea coasts, offer something they have nowhere else. This extraordinary offering is "culture and rest." Budapest is gradually becoming the "Mecca of health" to which those seeking rest and healing make pilgrimages. "This red-white-green island of tranquility" attracts people living with great nervous tension. There are almost 500 thermal springs in the country, more than 100 in Budapest alone, the therapeutic effect of which is confirmed not only by centuries of experience but also by the most modern medical and chemical research.

The charm of the puszta still fascinates the Austrian and West German guests. They find that a person can still feel nature in Hortobagy or Bugac. "The plains are not spectacular, but they are extraordinarily striking," this a French opinion. "Cutting zig-zag among the juniper bushes at a slow canter in the reeds, where the herons and storks stand guard, or in the waters of the marsh, the home of the wild ducks, then in slow step that we might surprise the pheasants hiding in the barley..." The countryside, with its quiet, tranquility and peace, has ever more attraction for those from overseas also. "Thus far, I have felt best of all in those places where there were more geese than men," the American journalist Stephan Brust confesses in his paper, SIGNATURE.

#### Opinions about Our Hotels

Blaguss-Reisen, one of the largest private travel organizers in Austria, in cooperation with our travel offices, regularly brings tourists arriving in Vienna from the United States on to Hungary for a tour of the country lasting several days or for a shorter excursion near the border. The guests arriving from the U.S.. nostalgic for train travel, first visit Fertoszentmiklos, then Fertod and finally Sopron. Blaguss also organizes longer Hungarian trips with luxury autobuses, with stays at the best hotels. Especially popular are the office's express tours between Vienna and Budapest. Housing is provided in our 3 newest hotels, the Penta, Forum and Atrium, for 970 shillings per day, with breakfast and bus travel included.

The opinion of representatives of the international tourism press is divided concerning our hotels. They object to the high prices, primarily in the newest ones. A member of the Austrian NEUE KRONENZEITUNG has a bad feeling about Budapest solely because of the "criminally expensive hotel," everything else being "virtually free." His observation that the hotel and tourism workers, though friendly, are less attentive merits attention. Raymund Hoerhuger, of the West German WESER KURIER, stresses that the demand for cheaper service is increasing and writes about Budapest: "If we disregard the luxury hotels in the American style, then the rooms in the good, old hotels are cheaper than in Western houses of similar quality." The French opinion about the Hilton is that they magnificently built into it the ruins of a cloister which once ruled the Danube. "The most beautiful Hilton is in Budapest. Who would have believed it?" An American journalist "likes the impudence of putting a casino on the remains of 13th-century cloister."

#### Dining and Amusement

The Western tourist feels comfortable in Hungary; he gets perfect service in the hotels, together with a rich variety of food and outstanding drink. "This country is paradise for my purse," judges an Austrian guest and, if the journalist is a woman, adds: "Perhaps nowhere else is there such great danger of putting on weight than during a brief stay in Budapest. One wanders from one restaurant to another, finally 'imprisoned' in a wine cellar." The Austrian guest having tea at a marble table in the Vorosmarty confectionary looks with wonder at the bill: "For 3 very fine tortes, a nice serving of cocoa, a pot of tea, two-eighths of honey-sweet Tokaj and a juice we paid 130



forints, which is 65 shillings." The West German journalist also emphasized the favorable prices, finding meals very cheap--especially in the small restaurants.

In international tourism a significant part of the income from tourists comes from amusement. As for possibilities to spend money the foreigner finds in Budapest primarily musical programs. If he can get tickets in time!--adds one Austrian journalist, whose heart was set throbbing by the richness the Hungarian capital offers in the area of classical music. A similar opinion is held by a West German colleague who writes in STUTTGARTER WOCHENBLATT: "Artistic life is very rich in Hungary; they cultivate the theater and musical arts especially ardently. Great respect surrounds Ferenc Liszt, Bela Bartok and the composer and music teacher Zoltan Kodaly, but they equally honor Haydn and Beethoven. Indeed, Joseph Haydn once lived in the Kismarton castle of the Eszterhazy princes and in the home of the family, in Fertod, in that palace with which the prince wanted to create a 'Hungarian Versailles' to obscure the light of the Vienna Hofburg." It was the interesting and noteworthy opinion of an Austrian that one who is interested in folklore in Budapest will be somewhat disappointed because the dances and music have been modernized in the places of amusement.

This finally led to some of the dances taking on an acrobatic character. And naturally the guest can fill his ears with "sobbing violins..."

#### The Attractive Atmosphere

If there were a substantial expansion of services, increasing the possibilities for spending money, according to foreign opinion we could make profitable use of our unique attraction. How this manifests itself can be summarized well from the already cited article by Raymund Hoerhuger: "They are beginning to understand tourism in Hungary. In 1982, despite the economic slump, the number of Western tourists increased--especially from the FRG, Austria and Switzerland. This development can be attributed to a substantial improvement in service performance in Hungary and to the strong price development. Westerners especially value the friendliness and helpfulness of the Hungarian populace. The attractiveness of Budapest for foreigners can be attributed not only to the unique situation of the city ruling the Danube; a crucial role is played by the attractive atmosphere which always characterized this city. One comes to Budapest from the West for this intimate atmosphere."

These press opinions, of course, do not give the total picture about us, but they are very instructive and in the editorial offices of the publication of the Commercial Organization Institute they left the impression that we are beginning to do tourism--at least the international part of it--in a professional manner, and this is being recognized by the international trade press too. There can be no doubt that our professional reputation is very good in the world at large, but everyone still criticizes us for the unsatisfactory level of service. So the chief task, in the "criminally expensive" hotels and in the other locales offering "virtually free" consumables, is to improve the level of service. There is a great competition to win tourists throughout Europe; the increase in our capacity prescribes more commandingly than before that we provide those visiting us with much richer programs and amusement possibilities at competitive prices.

STATUS OF HUNGARIAN LITERATURE, THEATER IN SLOVAKIA, TRANSYLVANIA DISCUSSED

Literature in Slovakia

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jul 83 p 2

[Interview with Oliver Racz, vice-president of CSEMADOK and president of Hungarian section by Janos Koevesdi: "There Is a Future for Hungarian Literature in Slovakia." Presented here are excerpts of an interview which first appeared in JU SZO 20 May 83 under the title "What Can the Poet Do?"]

[Text] The following interview with Oliver Racz, one of the prominent figures of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia, member of the presidium of the Slovak Writers' Union and president of the Hungarian section, discussing the situation of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia and the possibilities of literary translations aimed at promoting mutual understanding was prepared by Janos Kovesdi and was published in the columns of the Pozsony [Bratislava] publication UJ SZO. Cited below are a few excerpts from this interview.

[Question] (...) In addition to serving as vice-president of CSEMADOK, since 1982 you have also held the office of president of the Hungarian section of the Slovak Writers' Union. How do you see, from this position, the present situation of Hungarian literature in Slovakia?

[Answer] The present situation of Hungarian literature in Slovakia is a status which has all of the signs of a lively and unquestionable existence as it makes its impact on today's literature and reader consciousness. Perhaps this may sound like biased exaggeration but it is not: we have become known around the world as well as at home. Under mutual book publication agreements our authors have published work after work in Hungary, but we also have authors whose names are known in the Soviet Union, Romania and Yugoslavia. And again, without being overly optimistic, I can safely say: during the past 4-5 years we have been able to adapt considerably more closely to the Czechoslovak context of domestic literature than at any time before; furthermore, and this is even more heartening for it opens new prospects for mutually promising and fruitful developments, the Czechoslovak context has begun to accept us with increasing vigor, and what is even more important, in a more and more natural and matter-of-fact manner every day. The rules of the game are narrowly defined but they are not inflexible: during the past few years more of our authors have been able to make their voices heard in the Slovak language--in the form of anthologies but also in separate volumes--than during the previous years combined. I am convinced that this process will

continue to gain confidence reaching increasingly greater heights and that its effects, both vertically and horizontally, will help us attain our goals, beliefs and mission: proving that Hungarian literature in Slovakia does have a reason for existence and that it is unique both in tone and character. (...)

[Question] What are your views regarding the publication of Hungarian-Slovak literary works in the Slovak and Czech languages?

[Answer] Owing to their status and the reality facing them, most Hungarian writers in Slovakia also work as literary translators. I could even go as far as to say that in this area we have long become skilled professional workers, reliable pros. It does not matter: this is also a profession, indeed it is a mission and a virtue. And if we look at the bookshelf filled with our translations of works from Slovak and Czech literature we can be proud of our work. And when we glance into these works--as our contemporaries among the authors of Slovak and Czech literature who also understand Hungarian have acknowledged--we can also guarantee their quality. Looking at the other side of this, however, the situation unfortunately is not so favorable: the number of Slovak--and especially Czech--literary translators is alarmingly low. Just how many of these few actually get to deal with works of Hungarian-Slovak writers is determined by a simple, merciless and unavoidable mathematical equation. I know, and on the basis of the experiences of countless professional conferences, discussions and friendly conversations I can tell you that--to stay within our more limited circle--no one is more concerned by this than our Slovak colleagues. To my knowledge among the youngest generation of Slovak writers and poets there have been several who have shown interest in the possibilities of literary translation: such possibilities, however, can only be created through professional preliminary education and by way of actual literary translator training which is a problem that has been debated back and forth by our competent college faculties for years. I am convinced that as our needs become more pressing sooner or later they will put an end to this long debate getting matters out of their present state of idle impasse, which undoubtedly will have a favorable effect--even if perhaps only indirectly, by way of Slovak interposition--on efforts to bring Hungarian works to life in the Czech language.

[Question] How did the most recent Fourth Congress of the Slovak Writers' Union evaluate the status of local Hungarian literature and what objectives does it expect our ethnic literature to attain?

[Answer] The congress' evaluation of Hungarian-Slovak literature properly reflected its status, objectives and quality; it described it as an integral part of Slovak and Czechoslovak literature and also as a vital component of the common national literature. Both conclusions are binding and authoritative in nature. The evaluation, however, also pointed out some features which stem from the special, unique and non-recurring tone of Hungarian-Slovak literature and which combined with a commitment to the above mentioned dual bound show beyond any doubt that its existence is justified and that its development and future are ensured.

(Janos Koevesdi: "What Can the Poet Do? Conversation with Oliver Racz"  
UJ SZO 20 May 1983.)

## Hungarian-Romanian Cultural Relations

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian July 1983 p 2

[Excerpts of discussion between Jozef Kovacs and Istvan Csucsuja which first appeared in the Hungarian language Kolozsvar periodical UTUNK (KORUNK?) March 1983 issue: "Decades of Cultural Coexistence"]

[Text] In the March issue of the Kolozsvar [Cluj] publication UTUNK (KORUNK?) Jozsef Kovacs and Istvan Csucsuja gave an objective account of the post-1945 development of the cultural ties between Romania and Hungary. Presented below are a few important excerpts from their article.

(...) The Romania-Hungarian and Hungarian-Romanian friendship societies established in 1945 have played an extremely positive role in the development of cultural relations. The first presidents of these societies were two distinguished representatives of the musical arts George Enescu and Zoltan Kodaly, who through their talents and profound humanism did a great deal to enhance the development of closer ties between our peoples. From the start several eminent representatives of Romanian and Hungarian cultural life have become involved in the work of these societies, including writers, poets, literary translators, critics and literary historians such as Gala Galaction, Costa Carei, Mihai Cruceanu, G. Gabor Kemeny, Laszlo Galdi, Avram P. Todor and others. Among the works published by the Romanian-Hungarian Society are two documentary volumes, entitled "Pionerii de la Oradea" and "A varadi hidveres" [Bridge Building at Varad] including materials from a writers' conference organized in 1935-1936 by the Nagyvarad [Oradea] periodical FAMILIA. These publications were edited by G. Gabor Kemeny, the same scientist who had earned a remarkable distinction for helping in 1947 to establish a Romanian-Hungarian-Southern Slav people's college which was named after Lajos Mocsary for having published the works of Lajos Mocsary and in general, for having published documents pertaining to the common past of our nations. In order to enhance closer spiritual ties they have been translating into each other's language some of the most valued works of Romanian and Hungarian literature. In 1945 the REVISTA LITERARA published Eugene Jebeleanu's translation of poems by Endre Ady, while in Hungary they published Laszlo Gal's translation of Liviu Rebreanu's novel, entitled "Rascola" (Revolt). This is followed by the publication of translations of works by Zsigmond Moricz, Kalman Mikszath and Endre Ady in Romania and of Ion Creanga, Ion Luca Caragiale and Mihail Sadoveanu in Hungary. Anthologies and large collections appear. As early as 1945, Laszlo Szabedi publishes his collection of Romanian folk poetry. In 1947, Emil Giurgiuca publishes a volume under the title "Culegere din lirica maghiara" (Selection from Hungarian Lyrical Poetry). Appearing in the same year in Budapest is an anthology of contemporary Romanian poetry, entitled "Mai roman lira" [Romanian Lyrical Poetry Today]. The volume contains poems by 16 Romanian poets with a foreword by Emil Kolozsvari Grandpierre, who was also the one making the selections. While we are on the subject we must not neglect to mention a volume published in 1948, entitled "Poeme maghiare din Petofi, Ady, Jozsef Attila, Radnoti" (Hungarian Poems from the Poetry of Petofi, Ady, Attila Jozsef, Radnoti) containing poem translations by Eugen Jebeleanu, or the anthology that appeared in Budapest under the title "Roman koltok" [Romanian Poets] introducing poems by 28 Romanian poets.

Closely connected and parallel with the various manifestations of literary life, increasingly broader cooperation begins to develop in the field of arts. One of the first signs of this is the introduction of several Romanian plays on Hungarian stages and the presentation of several Hungarian works in Romanian theaters. We think it is typical that by the early 1960's the Hungarian State Theater of Kolozsvar alone had already staged the works of over 50 authors from Hungary. These had included works by a number of popular and outstanding Hungarian contemporary authors, such as plays by Tibor Dery, Istvan Orkeny, Laszlo Nemeth and others.(...)

Literary translation activities aimed at rendering Hungarian literature into Romanian have focused consistently on the works of the classics. This has led to the publication of newer and more modern translations of poems by Sandor Petofi, Endre Ady, Janos Arany, and works by Mor Jokai, Kalman Mikszath and Zsigmond Moricz. The establishment of the ethnic publisher Kriterion has further enhanced this development. The publisher has played an extraordinary role in presenting Romanian literature to the Hungarian, and Hungarian literature to the Romanian readers. Naturally, the Hungarian editors of Dacia in Kolozsvar and of the Ceres Publishers in Bucharest as well as other publishers such as Ion Creanga, Albatros, Eminescu, the Technical, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishers have all contributed to the expansion of cooperation and book exchanges.

The theater has continued to play an important role in promoting cultural cooperation. There has been a noticable increase in interest here toward modern, problem-raising plays from Hungary. In recent years works of Istvan Orkeny, Istvan Csurka and Imre Dobozy have attained great theatrical successes in our country. Istvan Orkeny's "Totek" [The Tots] and "Macskajatek" [Cat's Play] have been included in the repertoire of some Romanian theaters (i.e., the Lucia Sturdza Bulandra and the National Theater of Kolozsvar). Performances by Hungarian theaters such as the 1962 Caragiale-performance (Carnival) in Bucharest by the National Theater, guest performances by the Thalia Theater, Vigszhaz, the Attila Jozsef theater and the Veszprem Sandor Petofi Theater, and the visits and premieres of Romanian theaters in Budapest, Debrecen, Bekescsaba and elsewhere have brought tremendous response from the viewing public as well as from theater experts. Moreover, several leading Hungarian actors and directors such as Ferenc Bessenyei, Tamas Major, Imre Sinkovits have performed or directed as guests of our theaters, working with local companies. The fact, furthermore, that between 1972 and 1980 from Kolozsvar alone 14 Hungarian and Romanian actors appeared in Hungarian films is a clear indication of cooperation in this important area.

Hungarian music has been given an important place in the programs of Romanian orchestras, and the same is true for Romanian music in the repertoires of philharmonic orchestras in Hungary. The two great conductors, Janos Ferencsik and George Georgescu have repeatedly visited each other's capital cities at the head of their highly acclaimed orchestras where their concerts included works by Beethoven, Bartok and Enescu. Through creative associations our conductors have been signing exchange agreements every year. These exchanges have given them opportunities to learn about each other's work and in general, to gain a clearer understanding of the two countries' musical life. It is to

the results of these meetings that we can attribute the exchanges of several musical scores, records and musicological publications, all of which have enhanced mutual understanding.(...)

The cooperation among our higher educational institutions is also well exemplified by the existing relationship between the Babes-Bolyai University of Arts and Sciences of Kolozsvar and the Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences of Budapest. The cooperation agreement between the two universities was signed in 1978 by representatives of the Romanian and Hungarian ministries of education. We should mention that several domestic and Hungarian universities and higher educational institutions have signed direct cooperation agreements. Such were the agreements between the University of Bucharest and the Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences of Budapest, between the universities of Ias and Debrecen, between the universities of Temesvar [Timisoara] and Szeged, etc. Between 1969 and 1977, 27 Kolozsvar university professors and researchers were hosted by colleagues in Pecs and 34 education workers came from Pecs to Kolozsvar-Napoca to compare notes.(...)

(Jozsef Kovacs and Istvan Csucsuj: "From the Post-Liberation History of the Cultural Relations Between Romania and Hungary" KORUNK (UTUNK?) March 1983.)

#### Theater in Marosvasarhely (Tirgu Mares)

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jul '83 pp 6-7

[Interview with Elemer Kincses, deputy director of Marosvasarhely National Theater by Istvan Szerdahelyi, date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Elemer Kincses is deputy artistic director of the Marosvasarhely National Theater. In Hungary his work is known only by the experts; by way of introduction I would like to ask you to give us a short biographical history for our readers' information.

[Answer] I am 32, born in 1946 in Marosvasarhely. First I obtained a degree in acting and played in Kolozsvar [Cluj], after which I completed a 2 year so-called post-graduate program in directing, and since 1975 I have been a training director. In addition, I have been teaching at the Marosvasarhely College of Performing Arts and I have been writing short stories and plays. My anthology of short stories, entitled "Bekotott szemmel" [Blindfolded] was published in 1972. My first play "Seneca" premiered in Szatmar [Satu Mare] in 1978 and it was also here where "Trojaban hull a ho" [Snowing in Troy] was first performed; this was followed last year by the staging of "Porond" [The Scene] in Marosvasarhely.

[Question] And what about your accomplishments as a director?

[Answer] Three weeks ago was my 30th production. If you ask me which of these are still close to me today I can give you three or four titles. First of all Chekhov's "The Seagull," followed by Brecht's "Arturo Ui," Lorca's "Blood Wedding" and Krudy's "Voros postakocsi" [The Red Stage Coach].

[Question] Now I would need some of the highlights from the history of the theater.

[Answer] It was born at the same time I was, in 1946 under the name Szekely Theater, headed by Miklos Tompa. In 1962 it was reorganized to become the Marosvasarhely State Theater, which was also the time its Romanian section was established. In 1974 it moved to a new, modern and technically well-equipped facility and 3 years ago it was renamed the Marosvasarhely National Theater.

[Question] How do the Hungarian and Romanian sections operate side by side?

[Answer] They alternate performances; on Tuesday and Thursdays the Romanians play, on Wednesdays and Fridays the Hungarians. They also have separate companies, although they are both managed by one person: Romeo Pojan, our director who also speaks perfect Hungarian; the deputy budget director and I as artistic director, however, must also keep an eye on the work of both sections.

[Question] What role does the Hungarian section play in the cultural life of Hungarian-Romanians?

[Answer] In Romania there are 6 Hungarian theaters: in addition to the one in Marosvasarhely there is one in Szatmar, Nagyvarad [Oradea], Sepsiszentgyorgy [Sfintu Gheorghe] and Kolozsvar. Our Hungarian section--just as our Romanian one--very frequently goes to orientate and to give guest performances mainly in the Szekely lands but also to the scattered regions everywhere from Szatmar to Temesvar [Timisoara]. We have season-ticket holders in Szekelyudvarhely [Odorheiul Secuiesc], Csikszzerda [Miercuera Ciuc], Gyergyó and also in smaller Szekely settlements...

[Question] What does this mean?

[Answer] Every year we announce 5 performances for season-ticket holders which we take on a tour of the country. Recently we were on a guest tour in the Zsil valley, appearing in places which we had not visited for 15 to 20 years and found that people still remembered our past performances.

[Question] Which is the best Hungarian theater in Transylvania?

[Answer] Comments can be heard from both sides claiming superiority for either the Kolozsvar or the Marosvasarhely theater. Fortunately they have never had to compete, so I would call it a draw. Incidentally, today's Kolozsvar theater is hallmarked by the name of Gyorgy Harag, who is the director there.

[Question] What is your program policy concept?

[Answer] We are a so-called repertory theater and we are trying, as much as our financial circumstances permit, to develop a colorful enough program. It includes plays by the classics as well as by modern writers, among them the works of Hungarian-Romanian playwrights. During the upcoming season, for

example, the Hungarian section will perform Gergely Csiky's "Cifra nyomorusag" [Genteel Poverty], Erno Szep's "Lila aka" [Purple Locust], Steinbeck's "Of Mice and Men," and will stage the premier of one of Tudor Popescu's new comedies. From the program of the Romanian section I would make special mention of a play by the inter-war classic Victorian Papa, entitled "Az ozsuta" [The Doe], a comedy by Aurel Baranga and the premier of "Hamlet" which took place 2 weeks ago.

[Question] Does the Romanian section also perform Hungarian plays?

[Answer] Yes it does, for example "Egy locsiszar viragvasarnapja" [The Palm Sunday of a Coper] by Andras Suto and Gyorgy Mehes' comedy, entitled "Harmincharom nevtelen level" [Thirty-three Anonymous Letters].

[Question] Relations in this area, therefore, are promising. But what about your relations with theaters in Hungary?

[Answer] Unfortunately they are quite scanty and occasional. They are, for the most part, personal in nature and do not reflect a comprehensive and systematic concept. This, however, is not only true in the case of Hungary but can generally be said about all of our relations abroad, even though international experiences are extremely important in order to produce quality work. Our only regular contact is with a theater in Szabadka [Subotica]--which only operates with two, a Serbian and a Hungarian, sections; one year they visit us, next year we go to them. These travels have been temporarily suspended due to financial reasons; hopefully not for long.

[Question] As I understand, Hungarian theatrical life in Romania has suffered some serious losses due to the emigration of some actors and directors.

[Answer] During the past decade five of our actresses have left Marosvasarhely for various corners of the world. One lives in the United States, another in Sweden, a third in the FRG and two have moved to Hungary. This has caused great difficulties.

[Question] What is the community and the audience like in your area?

[Answer] I have never seen an audience that was better or more sympathetic than the one we have in Marosvasarhely. Unfortunately we get wild applause even when--although not purposely--we give a performance that is weaker than it should have been. They forgive us for everything; I do not think that I need to say any more than this. The older generation's love for today's theater, of course, is still affected by the spell of traditions. The younger ones, however, are viewing us with fresh and expert eyes--Marosvasarhely, after all, is a university town. The theater also has an excellent studio where we have been experimenting with varying degrees of success. Young people especially enjoy this as reflected by the fact that a good three-quarters of our regular studio-performance audience is made up of university and high school students.

[Question] And what about attendance?



[Answer] The Hungarian section's viewer-capacity utilization is around 92 to 93 percent, which is not bad even in terms of the national average, especially if we consider that in Bucharest it is simply impossible to get a theater ticket--Sunday morning people already begin to line up in front of the theaters.

[Question] This, undoubtedly, also reflects the quality of their performances. Perhaps this is the reason why the Romanian theater has been able to keep abreast with the modern international trends.

[Answer] Not only has it kept abreast with them but it has been in the forefront. It reached its zenith about 8 to 10 years ago when Bucharest was indeed considered to be one of the theatrical centers of Europe. People were coming from abroad to view performances there. There were as many as 4 or 5 brilliant directors working there concurrently: Andrej Serban, Lucian Pintille, Peniulescu, Esrig and Ciulei. Unfortunately later this pleiad of directors became more or less scattered around the world, but even abroad they have continued to nurture the reputation of the Romanian theater. Following this peak there was a decline, but now--judging from the work of Dan Micu, Alexa Visarion and others--it seems as if a new wave may be under way.

[Question] (Is it correct to assume, therefore, that) Romanian, and within it Hungarian-Romanian theatrical arts are not building on the "import" of Western trends but much rather on the internal tradition of an "exportable" school of direction?

[Answer] That is correct, and if we can continue to build on the accomplishments of this new wave, we can also be hopeful in looking toward the future.

[Question] Is there not a uniquely Transylvania style of direction?

[Answer] Insofar as such a thing can be said to exist anywhere in the world, obviously we also have one. I, however, do not believe in it. Even the old Bucharest pleiad did not have a uniform style. Serban directed differently from Pintille. Besides Gyorgy Harag there is hardly a director who could be said to have a definable style; we have only superb, good, mediocre, poor and dilettant directors. But this problem reaches even further; it shows that directing is one of the most excruciating of all the arts, it is the art of self-abandonment.

[Question] In our country where the concept of "director's theater" represents the trend, this statement--if I understand you correctly--will be received with aversion by many.

[Answer] What we need are not director's theaters but talented theaters. Of course the last word and most of the responsibility is the director's, and if justified he may even make changes in the written drama. Regardless of how reform-minded he may be, however, he must understand that the most important aspect of a theatrical performance is the dramatic work.

[Question] The director may not have a message of his own?

[Answer] What is most important is precisely for him to have a goal beyond just picking up his check on Monday. He should have an opinion about the world, he should feel compelled to call our attention to matters vital to us as they arise from various sources: he should select the play to be performed by making certain that it is suitable for expressing these ideas. He should select a play that lends itself to expressing his ideas.

[Question] I understand, what is more I also agree with this definition. Let us, however, return from the clouds of theater aesthetics back to earth. Theaters around the world are struggling with financial problems. What is the situation in Marosvasarhely?

[Answer] The same as everywhere in the world. For austerity reasons they say they would prefer if a theater did not perform more than four plays, and there is even some rumor that we might have to become self-supporting. Rational solutions are extremely difficult, for we know very well that financial and cultural interests are by no means always identical.

[Question] My last question: what about the future supply of young actors and directors in the Hungarian section?

[Answer] As an instructor at the Marosvasarhely college, I am more qualified to address the secrets of training young actors; we do not handle director training, it is done in Bucharest. Regarding the former, therefore, I would say that sometimes it is like this, sometimes it is like that. Four years ago we graduated an extremely talented class, and it was followed by two or three weaker ones. Why, it is impossible to explain. It is certain, however, that if we have two or three young candidates blessed with truly great abilities, they raise the standard of the entire class to their level. If, on the other hand, we end up with a so-called "class of victims" on our hands, we have trouble. Overall, however, our supply of young actors appears to be satisfactory.

[Question] And the supply of directors?

[Answer] That is also satisfactory. Miklos Tompa's son Gabor Tompa, who is very promising, has just graduated in Bucharest, and an extremely talented girl by the name of Agi Szabo will graduate this year. It would be interesting to follow their career, and in general, to pay a little more attention to the aspirations of Hungarian theater in Romania.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Walbrzych Province Plenum

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 5 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by dt: "PZPR Provincial Committee Plenum in Walbrzych: Rule of Law Is Gauge of Good Faith"]

[Text] (Own information) The work of the party in strengthening the rule of law, public safety and order and realization of the principles of social justice was the subject of yesterday's PZPR Provincial Committee Plenum in Walbrzych. Among those present at the plenum were Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Mirosław Milewski, chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee, Edward Deren and chairman of the SD Provincial Committee, Andrzej Zajac.

Provincial Committee First Secretary Jozef Nowak presented a report in which he stressed that the rule of law is the fundamental principle of the Polish Peoples' Republic as a socialist state. It is a subject of particular interest to society. The restoration of a proper role to the constitutional organs of government, the consistent removal of bad influences which accrued in the 1970's especially and the introduction into practice of solutions meeting new social needs are the conditions that will hasten the nation's emergence from its social and economic crisis.

At the end of the 1970's, arrogance, unjustified privileges, poor management and a lack of reaction by the authorities to these faults were a proper cause of protest by the working class in August 1980 which also took place in Walbrzych Province. This dissatisfaction was enhanced by the neglect of housing construction and communal management.

The worker protest was, however, quickly taken advantage of by the political opposition. Anarchy, strikes and even acts of sabotage spread. This was accompanied by increasing theft, robbery and rape.

Walbrzych Province was not free of attempts to demonstrate negative attitudes to martial law although such hostile aggravations did not enjoy broad support among workers.

Crimes against human safety and life dropped. On the other hand, there was, especially after the suspension of martial law, an increase in cases of theft, breaking and entering of homes and public buildings, and rape. Eighty-eight percent of crimes committed took place in urban centers.

Public opinion has been agitated by speculation, bribery, greed and cunning producing excessive wealth. Criticism has been aroused over exorbitant honorariums for private medical practice.

The first secretary of the Provincial Committee conveyed words of recognition to the soldiers and officers of the Polish Peoples' Army, functionaries of the MO [Citizens' Militia] and ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia] for defending the law and providing security.

All sorts of tasks in strengthening the rule of law, expansion of social protection, and the preservation of family life stand before the revived trade union movement, the worker self-management bodies and social commissions. Normalization has been furthered by the ever-greater activity of party organizations of the political parties, PRON and the state administration.

The participation of the Provincial Party Control Committee in the fight against economic crimes was discussed by its chairman, Boguslaw Cybulski. Vice Governor Marian Golenia spoke about the role of the state administration in the improvement of control and operation of institutions for handling complaints.

Also speaking at the plenum were the following: Ryszard Zagorski, miner at the Victoria Coal Mine, Jan Swierkosz, chairman of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] provincial administration, Edward Deren, chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee, Col Leszek Lamparski, commander of the provincial MO, Andrzej Zajac, chairman of the SD Provincial Committee, Leon Niedzwiedzki, first secretary of the Walbrzych PZPR City Committee, Mieczyslaw Maslak, chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Provincial Council, Alicja Chrzan of the District Arbitration Commission, Col Franciszek Wojciechowski, deputy commander of the Frontier Guard Sudety Brigade, Alfred Koksa, chief engineer of the Nortech Plant in Gluszyca, Zdzislaw Kogut, judge of the Dzierzoniow Regional Court, Jadwiga Hrabych of RSW [Prasa (Press) Workers' Cooperative Publishing House] in Walbrzych, Stefan Swiatly, Kłodzko Regional Prosecutor, and Stefan Mizik, director of the Treasury Department in Walbrzych. Four persons conveyed votes to the protocol.

"The subject of today's plenum," emphasized Mirosław Milewski, "falls within chief constitutional principles, remains under social control and forms the basis of the credibility of popular rule. This is why it is important. The obligation to observe the law applies to everyone. It is insufficient to encumber organs of prosecution and justice with this obligation. We have to create a social front within the province and territory. The gradual stabilization of life in Poland, despite foreign attempts to interfere, shows that we are correctly implementing the policy established by the PZPR Ninth Congress."

Recommendations aimed at improving the party's activity were included in the plenum's resolution. The plenary session was concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

#### Wroclaw Province Party Plenary Sessions

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Jun 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by hsm: "Provincial Committee Plenary Sessions in Wroclaw: PZPR-- Party of Active People"]

[Text] (Own information) Plenary sessions of the PZPR Provincial Committee were held in Wroclaw yesterday. In the period of the last 18 months, the party has achieved the cohesion of its ranks and unity on the basis of the program of the PZPR Ninth Congress. Its actions aimed at the integration of society, mastering the social and economic crisis, improving the living conditions of working people and creating the necessary preconditions for the further development of socialism in Poland are more effective. "Therefore, the conditions have at this time emerged," emphasized the chairman of the plenary sessions, Central Committee Politburo member and Provincial Committee first secretary, Tadeusz Porebski, "for the party provincial organization to take up more aggressive activity, party members to commit themselves more to their responsibilities and for more complete realization of our current work. To put it briefly, we are concerned with increasing the effectiveness of party work on all levels, political, social and economic." The plenary session of the PZPR provincial organization in Wroclaw was dedicated to just this issue.

Deputy member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak participated in the proceedings.

The introductory report by the Provincial Committee Executive Board was read by Provincial Committee secretary Bogdan Kleszczewski. "We have to address ourselves to the question," stated Kleszczewski in his foreword, "of what sort of conditions we are presently working in. What work do we have to do? What must we do for the provincial party organization to perform its difficult tasks, for it to be the leading political and organizational force and the leader as well of the process of socialist renewal and further progress in the development of socialism in our region?"

"The major task that everyone will agree on is that of restoring the Leninist character of the party and the strengthening of its fundamental principles, which are ideological and political unity and cohesion within its ranks, its character as a workers' party, democratic style of operation, principles of democratic centralism, consistent struggle against autocratic and bureaucratic actions, and the introduction into all levels of the party of planned work on realizing the program of the Ninth Congress and Central Committee plenary sessions."

"In all of these areas, the provincial party organization," stated the speaker, "has produced obvious and significant results."

"Effective activity may be conducted--history teaches us--by confirming the class nature of the party above all. We must, therefore, fall back upon all reserves of the *aktiv* in order to gain support for the party program of those workers who are lost politically, still hesitating, are passive and have still not understood that the PZPR program reflects their basic class interests. Patience, a high degree of political culture, and the ability to convince others when the opponents to socialism disregard facts and their primary means are pressure and demagoguery are all essential to the job of gaining worker support.

"An essential condition for success is that all of the party organizations, including the large organizations in standard enterprises and the average and small organizations in small work establishments, take up broad activity in their communities. Until recently, the activeness of party organizations was measured in terms of the initiatives and enterprises of the *aktiv*. That is no longer enough. The conditions have emerged for the party to move into the next stage, action on a broad front by all PZPR members."

"The PZPR is a party of socially and politically active persons"--that was the motive of the report by the Provincial Committee Executive Board and the subject of many hours of interesting, lively discussion in which 17 persons took part.

None of the realms of political, social and economic action may be foreign to party organizations and their members. The enemies of socialism, inspired by Western subversion centers, are trying to penetrate all of these areas and to destabilize the situation and undermine enterprises to lead the country out of its economic difficulties. They frequently utilize more refined methods which limit social possibilities for action and penetrate the legal structures in work establishments in order to carry out subversive activities there. The party organizations must be aware of this and, according to the needs of the times, improve the style and methods of its work.

The restored trade unions themselves are the field of political struggle. Very many workers that understand that reconstruction of the restored trade unions lies within their interests, have encountered harassment from their coworkers inspired by the underground structure of Solidarity. However, class instinct and common sense are winning ground. Out of 803 establishments in Wroclaw and Wroclaw Province meeting the conditions for forming trade unions, 700 of those already have unions. Trade union membership is already more than 54,000. It was emphasized at the plenum that the development of trade unions, worker self-management bodies and housing self-management bodies should become the focus of interest and activity of all party organizations. These organizations are also responsible for providing political assistance to cells of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] since that movement is serving to broaden the base of public agreement and quicker recovery from the effects of the social and economic crisis.

The most attention during the discussion was devoted to internal party affairs. On the basis of their own experiences, several of the speakers discussed in detail the methods of action of party organizations, their members

and the entire party. There was practically no important area of activity not covered. An especially large amount of attention was addressed to the problems of youth education. It was stressed that, despite the number of people that have already left the party, this membership loss has been checked and some growth in its ranks has already been noted. We must now take up planned work in this area. The responsibility of the POP [Basic Party Organization] is to reinforce the proletarian foundations and character of the PZPR. Everyone fully agreed that the authority of individual POP's may not be manipulated from outside. Each organization itself, engaged in work to solve the problems of its community and intensifying its propaganda and training activity, can earn the respect and faith, the understanding and the support of the community. Much attention was also given to fundamental ideological and constitutional problems. The participants in the discussion all stressed that a national agreement must be constructed on the shared interests of all of society but without any concessions compromising socialist principles and the party's historical mission.

The discussion participants addressed themselves to the PZPR's new declaration of its ideology and program: "What we are struggling for--Where we are going." They also discussed the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, information about the work of the Provincial Committee Executive Board and Secretariat and of Provincial Committee agencies in the recent period and the projected plans for work by provincial party organizations during the second half of this year.

Taking part in the discussions were: expert from the Power Plant Repair Works, Jerzy Szczurek, first secretary of the Olawa City Committee, Antoni Sokolowski, manager of the Miekinia community, Jerzy Wieczorek, secretary of the UWWiMW [Wroclaw Provincial and Wroclaw City Administration Plant Committee], Lucjan Sledzinski, Witold Drekowski of the Equipment Maintenance Plant, Zenon Okraszewski of Wroclaw Politechnical Institute, first secretary of the Wroclaw Downtown District Committee, Tadeusz Nestorowicz, a teacher from the Vocational Schools System, Anna Zadorecka, chairman of the Intraparty Commission of the Wolowa City and Community Committee, Zbigniew Sawicki, member of the Provincial Committee Commission on Complaints and Recommendations, Tadeusz Hudak, first secretary of the plant committee of the Wroclaw-Brochów PKP [Polish State Railways] line, Jozef Zdyb, first secretary of the plant committee at the Fadroma Construction Machinery Factory, Zbigniew Mistrzak, first secretary of the plant committee at the Hydral State Aviation Works, Ryszard Nikiel, deputy director of the Strzelina Regional Center for Party Work, Stefan Proszynski, Jozef Woloch of the Wroclaw Politechnical Institute, first secretary of the plant committee at the Dolmel Lower Silesia Electrical Machines Production Works, Boguslaw Was and Andrzej Dobrudzki of the Wroclaw Politechnical Institute.

In his appearance, Włodzimierz Mokrzyński stressed that the Provincial Committee in Wroclaw has taken up a very important and difficult issue concerning not only the party but society as well. Overcoming our present difficulties, improving the lives of our people and building the foundations for the further development of our nation depend upon the party, its strength, and its ability to act effectively and obtain public support.

Participants of the sessions passed a resolution establishing the work of the provincial party organization, its cells and party members in the near period. Information on the work of the Provincial Committee Executive Board and Secretariat and Provincial Committee agencies was also received and the Committee's work plan for the second half of 1983 was confirmed.

#### Warsaw Province Plenum

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 7

[Text] During the past few months, the Warsaw party organization has taken in several hundred new member-candidates. This growth in its numbers should be accompanied by a corresponding increase in quality. The party may not grow spontaneously and without any criticism or it would be doomed to having a casual and nonideological membership. These are the sort of party members that later give their vocal support to the party program only at meetings and, meanwhile, in their daily lives, they go under camouflage and remain silent, even among persons that are hostile to socialism. After all, in every party organization lies the important responsibility to struggle for the socialist character of the party. This depends, above all, on opposing any attempts to form social organizations that are superficially legal but are essentially alien to the party line. Such attempts were made in several Warsaw factories and the law on worker self-management bodies was taken advantage of. To be able to oppose such organizations, the party must be strong. In order to be strong, it must have ideological assistance.

Warsaw is a center of thought equipped with centers of learning, workshops and institutes for political ideologists. This academic force, however, too infrequently aids the plant organizations.

These problems were the main subject of discussion at yesterday's plenary session of the Warsaw PZPR Committee. There was also discussion about various personal relationships existing in the institutes and the exclusive coteries that have sprung up which are destroying people that dare to stand up and defend the interests of society. In order to oppose this, the party should be able to constantly and systematically assess the management cadres in their plants.

The Warsaw PZPR organization is declaring war on the passiveness and beatific peace of some comrades who are a bothersome hindrance to strong action. This was the final accent of discussion which was chaired by Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Marian Wozniak. Taking part in the sessions were Central Committee Politburo member Albin Siwak, and deputy Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Włodzimierz Mokrzyński.



## Zamosc Province Plenum

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by hom: "PZPR Provincial Committee Plenum in Zamosc: Putting Reserves of Social Activity To Work"]

[Text] (Own information) Yesterday, 23 June, there was a plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Zamosc. The plenum was dedicated to assessment of the activity of party members in self-management and social organizations in work establishments of the Zamosc region. The session was led by Wladyslaw Kowal, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee.

In the Executive Board's report which was read by PZPR Provincial Committee secretary Bronislaw Witkowski, the fact was noted that 1982 has brought us many favorable changes in the activity of the party and social and self-management organizations, however, many unfavorable phenomena continue to exist. For example, examination of POP documents has shown that they most often contain assessments of great issues concerning our country. That is understandable since those are issues of concern to every communist but it is a bad thing when the resolutions of some organizations disregard issues that are closer and often of more importance to the given community.

The essential element of socialist democracy in work establishments is the worker self-management bodies. At the same time, this is one of the pillars of economic reform which cannot be conducted with the acceptance of society and allowing the workers to share responsibility for the making of decisions. This year, for the first time, a workers' council, the plant management and the trade unions will sit down together at the same table. In this system of public administration, a very important role falls to members of the party and the basic party organizations. They have the responsibility of seeing that decisions made by the self-management bodies be in accordance with the directions of socialist policy and economics.

In the renewal of social and political life at work establishments, an important role is also had by the restored trade union movement. Already more than 25 percent of the total number of employed workers in our province have applied for admission to the unions. Worth noting are the first positive examples of cooperation between party cells and the trade unions at places such as the Meat Products Plant, the Zamosc Furniture Plant, the Zamosc State Agricultural Machine Station and others.

These and other problems formed the basis for lively discussion. Persons speaking during the discussions were Stanislaw Sobczyk, first secretary of the POP at the Bilgoraj Automobile Repair Plant, Ryszard Weclawik, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee LHS [expansion unknown], Jan Galan, secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Bilgoraj, Grazyna Welhan, secretary of the Provincial Administration of the League of Polish Women, Tadeusz Mielniczek, farmer from the Hrubieszow community and Wlodzimierz Fudali, chairman of the Provincial Administration of the Union of Socialist Youth of Poland.

During the discussion, problems were expressed that were related to the most important themes of the report which, as has been emphasized, reflects the actual state of affairs. In talk about the passiveness of certain party members in self-management and social organizations, it was pointed out that this attitude is frequently the result of psychological conditions. To put it simply, not everyone likes to bring attention to themselves and they prefer to remain in the shadows. It was said that there are still great reserves of party member activity and they must be used to change party relations that are still very often unfavorable.

There was a great deal of attention directed at the problems of self-management bodies. It was emphasized that these bodies have not been reactivated in all work establishments but in those places where they are operating, an often-surprising lack of knowledge of the "rules of the game" can be perceived. Among other things, this is a matter of the fact that the regulations award unprofitable enterprises so it is simply not in their interests to increase their profits.

There was also discussion on the affairs of the young generation. Mastering the present crisis depends to a large degree upon the engagement of this generation in solving those problems. It is not, of course, a question of "buying" youth by giving them something for nothing but to bring about a situation in which young people will see their own futures in a new and different light.

First secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee summed up the sessions by pointing out the necessity of the party giving aid to the activities of the trade unions and other social organizations.

"It is a fact that there has been insufficient involvement in social activities," stated the speaker, "but we cannot criticize the workers for this because they are working well. This is attested to by the fact that planned work for 5 months of this year have exceeded by 14 percent that of the same period of last year." The Provincial Committee first secretary also shared his observations and feelings about the last session of the Politburo which assessed the visit of the pope.

A resolution was passed which, among other things, orders party organizations and party members to provide all-around assistance to social organizations in their program initiatives and recommends dealing with these organizations as important elements of social, political and cultural activization.

The last item of the plenary session was organizational affairs. Stanislaw Szafraniec, recently the director of the Provincial Committee Social and Economic Division, was appointed to the post of economic secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee. There was also an election of new directors of other Provincial Committee divisions. Kazimierz Garbacz was elected as director of the Provincial Center for Ideological Education and Stanislaw Grykus became director of the Administrative Division.

# Biography of Newly-Chosen PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary

Stanislaw Szafraniec was born in a peasant family on 25 October 1947 in Zabno (Turobin community). He completed his higher education in 1971 at the Higher School of Economics in Wroclaw where he received a master's degree in economics in the area of economics and organization of the food industry. In the period of 1971-1975, he worked in the dairy industry in positions such as that of deputy chairman of the District Dairy Cooperative in Opole Lubelskie. In 1975, he began to work in the PZPR Provincial Committee in Zamosc as inspector for the Division of Agriculture and Food Economy. In October 1980, he became deputy director of the Economics Division and in June 1981 the director of the Social and Economic Division.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Przemsyl Province Plenum on Ideology

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 4-5 Jun 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by (mn): "Ideology Growing With Needs of Life"]

[Text] The title of the report from the Friday (3 June) plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Przemsyl was extracted from the declaration of the PZPR Central Committee secretary, Marian Orzechowski, a participant in the discussions, who spoke at the end of the discussions and indicated the danger which would be entailed by an ideology deviating from life, from the matters on which the nation, the state and the party live. Such an ideology would simply be verbosity, a collection of formulas and platitudes. The aim of the party in consistently following the line outlined by its Ninth Congress is an ideology growing from the needs of life and satisfying their consumers. This ideology is one made of the planks on which the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress has been realized.

The subject of the plenum, chaired by the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Zenon Czech, was party activity for the benefit of raising the level of ideological and propaganda work in the Przemsyl Voivodship. The basis for the discussions was the informational material developed by the Voivodship Committee Ideological Division and the report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board, delivered by the secretary of this body, Leslaw Chowanski, all of which was delivered ahead of time to the members of the voivodship body.

The beginning of the report stated that, thanks to consistent realization of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, the party had achieved political and ideological initiative. Now it is a matter of maintaining this process. The voivodship party organization in general is faithful to the line developed at the Ninth Congress, and has accomplished a great deal since that time. But at the same time there is an awareness of the fact that there is still a great deal of work facing all of its members and links, and all the more so because

here and there it is possible to see organizational and association tendencies which seem to overlook the fact that there was a Ninth Extraordinary Congress, that there was an August 1980 and that there was a December 1981. Therefore the goal of ideological identity is found in the list of unusually important goals of party activity.

The foremost condition for achieving the ideological and educational tasks facing the party is the organizational strengthening of its ranks, bodies and basic links. Among other things, success in the battle for the hearts and minds of the workers, intelligentsia and youth depends on this. A greater offensive of its members and courage in opening discussions is necessary for the party to strengthen its opinion-forming function. Arming party members with a suitable supply of arguments is helped, among other things, by a system of party training and courses, embracing a large part of the PZPR members and candidates in the Przemyśl Voivodship.

Improvement in the efficiency of the educational, propaganda and informational work is still an important goal. Matters pertaining to the introduction of the economic reform must find a proper place in the political, propaganda and educational work in order for everyone to be able to better understand its deep significance and essence. Precisely these matters should be given wide consideration in ideological activity directed toward creating conditions for the realization of the economic reform, popularizing its essence and spreading economic knowledge among the workforces of factories and in the country.

It was said, among other things, that party ideological work should also favor the development and strengthening of the reviving trade union movement and the formation of a national understanding, the platform of which is PRON. The major tasks of the party should also include a struggle against the political and ideological opponent, antisocialist groupings and their propaganda. As the resolution of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum stressed, this is a task of the entire party, of all of its bodies, of the ideological front links, and of each of its members.

The evaluations contained in the report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board were deepened and developed in the discussions in which the following took part in turn: Anna Kowalska, a member of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board and first secretary of the PZPR KMG [expansion unknown] in Dynow; Wojciech Pawlowski, a CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] member and ZOZ [Labor Union Local] director in Przeworsk; Andrzej Patocki, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee in Jaroslaw; Szeslaw Palczak, a member of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board and a teacher in Lubaczow; Stanislaw Sobczuk, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee in Przemysl, Stanislaw Sotysiak, a member and first secretary (social) of the Voivodship Committee and chairman of the Spolem PSS [General Consumers' Cooperative] administration; Zdzislaw Blechinger, a member of the PZPR Central Committee Executive Board and a laborer in the Mera-Polna Automatics Plants in Przemysl; Col Jozef Karas, the commander of the voivodship MO [Citizens' Militia]; Antoni Kunysz, the director of the District Museum and chairman of the MRN [City People's Council] in Przemysl; Henryk Grymuza, the deputy director of the ROPP in Jaroslaw; Stanislaw Czerniec, the secretary of the PZPR Central Committee in Przeworsk; Wojciech

Dryjanski, the commander of the Colors of the Przemysl ZHP [Polish Scout Union]; Bronislaw Szmyd, the WKKP [Voivodship Committee on Physical Culture] chairman; Andrzej Wojciechowski, a member of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board and the Przemysl governor; and Stefan Duliban, the PZPR City Committee secretary in Przeworsk.

Among other things the speakers stated that the criterion for judging the members of the party, bodies and organizations is primarily their active and assertive attitude, their efficient polemics with enemy propaganda and opinions, their skill in convincing explanation of party and state policy, and the intentions and goals of the activities undertaken in the voivodship and its environs. Among other things our female comrade from Dynow stated that: "Let us not evaluate POP [Basic Party Organization] work exclusively through the prism of the meetings held and the documentation produced, but through the force and effectiveness of its activity in the factory, in the country, in the environs, in its bonds with the working people."

"Identification with the party policy and program cannot be a merely theoretical measurement, but must be a practical measurement," stated one of the speakers.

The speakers made a number of critical comments and conclusions with respect to the system, forms and methods of intraparty education. They expressed anticipation of the formation of a comprehensive system of political education which would be accepted by all party members. They recognized it expedient for all of the management cadre employed in economic and state administration to take WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] courses. A proposal was also made to create a school for the party aktiv.

The current state of visual propaganda was criticized. A need was also pointed out for the publication of more materials containing comments and polemical remarks against the hostile propaganda developed through Western radio broadcasts.

Special emphasis was given to the importance of mass policy work in the environment of the working class, and among the youth and intelligentsia. Propaganda activity should be developed to an equal degree in the cities and in the country. Likewise pointed out was the need to increase aggressive party activity in schools, social organizations and youth organizations, as well as giving this environment greater support and aid.

In his statement at the Voivodship Committee Plenum in Przemysl Comrade M. Orzechowski stated: "Building an awareness on the part of the public, youth and party members is a long-term process which cannot be accomplished by waving a magic wand." The Central Committee secretary emphasized that: "The line of the Ninth Congress is an unchanging beacon in party activity. The policy of struggle, understanding and socialist revival, as the Central Committee verified at the 12th Plenum, is the road which is being tested in the eyes of the public. We must remain true to this line. Everyone must think about the future. This thought of the future was a characteristic trait of the 12th Central Committee Plenum. The coming 13th Central Committee Plenum will continue even more strongly in the future" stated Comrade M. Orzechowski.

At the conclusion of the plenary meeting the Voivodship Committee adopted a resolution formulating the most essential directions of activity in the area of the organizational strengthening of the party, improving the style, forms and methods of work, the area of school and ideological work, and mass political work.

In closing the plenum negotiations the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Zenon Czech, expressed the conviction that party members would not lack consistency and resolution in realizing the tasks stemming from the resolution of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the resolution adopted by the Voivodship Committee. The task of greatest importance is the maintenance of bonds with the working class, steady contact with the working people, intensification of the processes of ideological and political consolidation in the party, and increasing activity in everyday operations.

#### Jan Kolodziejczak on Effects of Reform

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 20 Jun 83 p 4

[Interview with Jan Kolodziejczak, deputy member of PZPR Central Committee, by Maciej Lastowiecki: "Reform Requires Changes in Way of Thinking"]

[Text] As determined at the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the party will act consistently in favor of introducing and simultaneously improving the reform as a road to raising the social effectiveness of management. For this reason a main task for party organizations is mobilization of the energy and initiative of the working people for a societywide movement of anti-inflation and savings activities. This is of decisive importance in improving the material level of the life of the people. It is also an essential factor in the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the country. We asked the deputy member of the PZPR Central Committee, Jan Kolodziejczak, for a more detailed explanation of these problems.

[Question] Progress in the management field is of key importance for the success of all party efforts in favor of improving the socioeconomic situation in the country. The introduced economic reform is supposed to promote this. Still, the public feeling is that the reform has not brought about the anticipated results. Do you agree with such an opinion?

[Answer] Such opinions have been expressed at meetings with factory workforces and at meetings of social-trade union organizations. However, it must be recalled that the reform was put into force under very difficult conditions, considerably worse than those which were foreseen when its principles were being developed. This has also been expressed in the complete lack of balance in the domestic market, and in the greater lack of foreign balance than assumed and the more acute scarcity of foreign exchange funds for imports, especially free foreign exchange currency, resulting from the lack of balance. For these reasons, as well as others, temporary solutions were adopted which

deviate from the final model of reform. I also ask you to remember that the reform has been in effect for scarcely 1½ years. Consequently this is too short a period for the new principles of economic functioning to be widely spread in the consciousness of the public. Therefore, it would be difficult in this situation for the reform to fully meet the hopes placed in it.

Nevertheless the results achieved during the past year confirm the correctness of the decision to begin the process of reforming the economy and the state. The cancellation of many directives and limits has opened the door to real co-operation among enterprises. Annual planning, the free formation of the level and structure of employment, as well as wages to some extent, management of resources earned (including foreign exchange currency) suitable for the needs of enterprises, and the possibility of forming internal organizational structures have been put into their administration.

Among other things an effect of the reform activity is a definite increase in the importance of economic problems in factories and a definite improvement in the level of economic awareness among the people, along with the initiation of positive tendencies in the area of management effectiveness. The workforces are more interested in the effects of the work of their own enterprise than in the past. This means that the reform principles have become reality.

[Question] There are those who claim that one of the serious threats to the reform is the excessively developed system of social benefits, which our economy cannot afford. How do you see this problem?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the introduction of free Saturdays, earlier retirement on pensions, especially for workers who were directly productive, and educational vacations have led to production deactivation in our economy, with which essential difficulties are associated in the full use of production assets, and likewise the possibility of achieving a more rapid increase in production. It will not be easy to overcome these difficulties in the coming years. The path to this goal passes through an increase in work productivity, the introduction of technological and organizational advances, and a decrease in the material-intensive level of production. In a word, it is a matter of our activity being characterized by greater innovation.

Moreover it is difficult to define the social limits of reform. It may be that, for the good and "purity" of the reform, the compensation system should not have been raised. I am only afraid that then the group of reform supporters would have been reduced to a few thousand of the best situated or cunning people, who succeed only too well with or without the reform. At the same time no reform operates in a social vacuum and can be introduced with neglect of the limits of social endurance. This does not mean that all the decisions made last year regarding the social sphere or regulations and branch privilege cards were justified.

[Question] At the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum you spoke about the need to reorganize the center. Could you tell us what changes these would be based on?



[Answer] Changes in the organization of the central level were primarily expressed in the restriction in the number of branch ministries. However, their role in the management system and the bases of their functioning under reform conditions were not sufficiently crystallized. The task and authority of the leading administration authorities of a functional nature nor that of the collective bodies, the Council of Ministers (commissions and committees), were not sufficiently clearly crystallized either. The area of responsibility of individual organs and persons subject to them for making decisions and for their results was not defined with sufficient clarity.

The reform did not define the functions and role of the territorial level, which determines the effectiveness of implementation of social initiative, local resources and so on. It seems to me that the center organized enterprise work by means of economic parameters, and not by administrative orders.

[Question] You are a member of the Economic and Economic Policy Reform Commission acting under the PZPR Central Committee. This committee has devoted a great deal of time to problems associated with modernizing the economic system. Can you say what proposals have been advanced in this area?

[Answer] A major problem is achieving cohesion between the economic policies and the reform principles. Among other things one expression of this matter is the lack of an incentive system to stimulate an increase in production and simultaneously have a greater effect on the process of streamlining the economy. Incentive effectiveness is also reduced by the use of a strongly progressive income tax, especially with respect to well-operating enterprises and by crude principles of export sales. In many levels of the economy one can see activity of an inflationary nature. This means that some temporary solutions in force at present do not permit changes desirable from the viewpoint of economic needs. For this reason I believe that the reform mechanisms must be improved. Propositions elaborated by the Bureau of the Government Plenipotentiary on matters of economic reform, which will be the object of discussion in our commission this very month, are also aimed in this direction. This is a matter of these mechanisms directing economic activity more effectively toward dynamic production, improvement in management effectiveness, the creation and application of scientific and technological advance, and foreign and domestic restoration of economic balance. However, I would like to stress that issuing normative documents alone will not help here. The reform is a change in the methods of approach and the way of thinking of each of us.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

#### Przemysl Plenum on Small-Scale Industry

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 8 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "PZPR Voivodship Committee and Democratic Party Voivodship Committee in Przemysl, Chances and Prospects for Development of Crafts and Small-Scale Industry"]

[Text] This is not the first example of partnership co-operation between PZPR and SD [Democratic Party] echelons

and links in the creation of political premises and bases for solving economic and social problems. Their particular concern and attention are concentrated on questions of the conditions of development of small-scale and craft industry which, as stated in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the 12th SD Congress, create chances for better social satisfaction of the demand for various goods and services, and thus to ease the effect of the crisis. Problems associated with this were taken up jointly in Przemysl in recent years by the local party and political party levels and links, and by the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board and the SD Voivodship Committee Presidium which, among other things, made an evaluation last November of the undertakings of state, cooperative and craft administration for the purpose of increasing the role of small-scale and craft industry in supplying the Przemysl Voivodship market. At the time a joint plenary meeting of both voivodship echelons in 1983, devoted to these important problems, was considered expedient.

This intention waited until last night for realization when a joint plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the SD Voivodship Committee, dedicated to the directions of development and application of the potential of small-scale and craft industry in the voivodship, was called. In addition to members of both voivodship authorities, a broad group of people were invited to participate in the negotiations and represent cooperation in work in the craft environment. The initiative of the directors of both echelons met in recognizing the chairman of the SD Central Committee, the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Prof Edward Kowalczyk, who participated in the Przemysl Plenum. The course of the discussions was directed in turn by the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Zenon Czech, and the chairman of the SD Voivodship Committee, Franciszek Herman. Also taking part were the deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Section, Marek Holdakowski, the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] chairman, Jerzy Mastalerczyk, and the KOK proxy, Col Stanislaw Jedrzejec.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee secretary, Marian Domaradzki, presented a report with their approval showing the joint position of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board and the SD Voivodship Committee Presidium on the question under discussion.

More than 10,000 persons, and thus about 10 percent of the total number of workers in the economy, work in small-scale units in the Przemysl Voivodship. The annual value of their production and services amounts to 6.6 billion zlotys which, in calculating the sales production value per inhabitant, gives an amount of about 8,500 zlotys, while the mean national indicator exceeds the sum of 10,000 zlotys.

This situation is the result, among other things, of the fact that the small-scale and craft cooperative industry in Przemysl has a very outdated technical

and housing base, which also struggle is with material and personnel problems. The influx of young people is not commensurate with the needs, and this is explained, among other things, by the lack of an effective incentive system tending to a choice of craft trades with a shortage (for example, there is a greater and greater shortage in the country of the trades of blacksmith, metalworker and carpenter). The map of the service network has many blank spots which are dispersed very irregularly.

The Voivodship Committee Executive Board and the Voivodship Committee Presidium are looking at one of the basic conditions for improving the situation and developing small-scale and craft productivity--in guaranteeing this sphere a stability to function through the adoption of suitable central systematic solutions assuring a definite tomorrow to this field. Great responsibility rests on the self-government organs which, supported by the PZPR and SD echelons, should play a leading role in the introduction of economic reform mechanisms. An effective credit policy should be conducted by banks, particularly helping in the development of socially necessary branches of small-scale production, crafts and services which have shortages. They recognized as socially justified material and raw material support particularly for those units which render services for the public, provide production sought on the market, develop repair and restoration services, and reduce the shortage of goods and products of general use. To a greater degree than in the past they pointed out the need to look beyond local sources of raw and other materials. The difficult personnel situation forces us to consider the most urgent needs in directing training in trade schools, in trade improvement courses and also in craft shops and the cottage system. Along with these undertakings must come the development of a housing base for these needs, including in newly erected housing developments and in the country.

In a joint stand the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board and the SD Voivodship Committee Presidium stressed that progress in the field of services and small-scale industry requires greater activity than in the past by the local PZPR and SD echelons, national councils, state administrative organs, and also economic self-government and social-trade union links. Outstanding aid is expected from the ZLS echelons, links and members.

An important element in defining the prospects for the development of the small-scale and craft industry in the Przemysl Voivodship up to 1990 will be acceptance by the WRN of the program of which a draft--discussed at last night's plenum by Andrzej Wojciechowski, a member of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board and the Przemysl governor--was the subject of an exchange of opinions and proposals of the participants at the meeting. The following participated in the discussions: Boguslaw Gebarowicz, the vice chairman of the SD Voivodship Committee and chairman of the Association of Friends of Przemysl and the Region; Adam Doniec, a PZPR Voivodship Committee member and director of the NBP [Polish National Bank] in Jaroslaw; Elzbieta Babula, the president of the Administration of Crafts Chambers in Rzeszow; Adam Witek, a member of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the president of the "SCh" [Peasant Self-Aid] of the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] in Orla; Wladyslaw Burnatowicz, the SD Voivodship Committee secretary; Wacław Maruniak, the president of the Jaroslaw Furniture Plants-Work Cooperative; Jozef Pysz,

a member of the SD MK [City Committee] in Jaroslaw and the chairman of the Crafts Cooperative Council, Roman Szarek, the president of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Voivodship Committee, Henryk Kosztyla, the president of the WZSP [Voivodship Union of Labor Cooperatives], Ryszard Mikruta, a member of the National Crafts Council, and a craftsman in the Przyszlosc [Future] Cooperative in Przemysl, Zbigniew Chmielowski, the president of the Administration of the Service-Production Labor Cooperative in Lubaczow and Leslaw Kulpa, a member of the SD Central Committee, a member of the SD Voivodship Committee Presidium and deputy director of the Jaroslaw Glass Works.

Among other things the speakers pointed out the necessity of giving preference to those who are producing or intend to produce goods and services for agriculture, especially the production of simple agricultural machinery, implements and spare parts. They emphasized, among other things, that in this field the socialized and private sectors should complement each other. Also needed is the support of initiatives by craftsmen who want to invest their own assets in the construction of service-production shops, such as small bakeries, delicatessens, pork butcher shops or other kinds of service-repair shops. The discussions also called for the revival on a sound basis of the local state industry, the elimination of which in the past proved to be an erroneous withdrawal. Representatives of labor cooperatives stressed the need to amend some regulations which hinder the embodiment of economic reform principles in life. Some statements revealed the fears of the crafts circle about whether the modified tax system would be a factor promoting the development of production and services or not.

Reinforcing these assertions, the SD Central Committee chairman, Vice Premier E. Kowalczyk emphasized that an assurance of firm prospects and of a stable position for small-scale industry and crafts in the socioeconomic system of our country is one of the subjects of government concern which, in the sense of improvement in the people's standard of living, they are very consistently trying to incorporate into life with the principles of the joint PZPR and SD policies in the field of small-scale industry. Despite the efforts made, there is still a lot to be done to overcome the backwardness in services. More efficient economic mechanisms are necessary and also modern technology must be found to make small-scale industry a large industry, although in small organizational forms--under the umbrella of small-scale industry. A great deal is still to be organized in the legislative system. It is likewise necessary to eliminate all shortcomings and deficiencies revealed during the realization of the economic reform.

At the end of the discussion the plenum adopted a unanimous resolution on the development of small-scale industry and crafts in Przemysl Voivodship.

While he was in Przemysl yesterday Edward Kowalczyk, the SD Central Committee chairman and vice president of the Council of Ministers, visited the Konfekcyjno-Odziezo-e [Readymade Clothing] Plants, the ZWP Sanwil and the WSPUW Purse Factory. He was interested in the working conditions of the workforces and in the production and economic financial results of the first half-year. Prof. E. Kowalczyk also met with the SD Voivodship Committee Presidium and the SD City Committee chairman.

He also visited with students, participants in "Action Przemysl 2000."

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI CELEBRATED

Comments of Editor in Chief

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11-12 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Col Jan Ignaczak, editor in chief of ZOLNIERZ SOLNOSCI, by K. Jaworska: "Everything That Is the Very Breath of Poland's Life"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Forty years ago, on 12 June, the first issue of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI appeared. RZECZPOSPOLITA is talking with editor in chief of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, Col Jan Ignaczak about the newspaper's traditions, its program and the specific character of military journalism.

[Question] The battlefront journalists who founded your paper in Sielce-on-Oka stressed in their recollections that then, in 1943, they had the awareness of creating the traditions of a military press, which hadn't existed in Poland till then. They wanted the newspaper to be in close contact with its readers, to live their military life and not to paint a pretty picture out of it, to approach both great and everyday matters in a simple and truthful way....

[Answer] The program adopted by the first editors of our paper still sounds up-to-date. This very program determined the character of our paper. Reaching for traditions has always been natural for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. Those who have lived through the years of war and the period of reconstruction and development of the country, tried to pass down their professional and life experience to their younger colleague journalists.

[Question] What should a military journalist be like? What do you require of those who start working for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI?

[Answer] First of all, I warn them that the tasks awaiting them are more difficult than those of civilian journalists. For the hardships of this profession are multiplied by the conditions in which we work. After all, we are everywhere: on artillery ranges and exercise fields, aboard navy ships and at airports. A military journalist must be extensively prepared to do the job that calls for a specialized education. We strive to have a staff like this.

[Question] Among your readers are not only servicemen. Civilians also reach for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. What do you do to attract their attention?

[Answer] We have been and still are a military paper whose task is to publish materials that commanders on different levels and the entire military may find interesting. Besides, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI has always tried to keep pace with the country's life; just like the army which actively participated in all processes of building a socialist state. That is where our traditions in discussing current problems come from; that is also why our reporters and publicists have such a variety of interests, and why we have a wide range of readers, not only military ones.

[Question] Let's go back to the program which determined the character of your paper....

[Answer] We devote much attention to the problems of our defense on both the national and coalitional scale. We present those problems against the background of threats to peace and our own security, resulting from more and more aggressive actions of NATO countries and the arms race pushed by the United States on an unprecedented scale. These are the aspects of international affairs on which we put a particular stress in our columns, and we consider it our duty. Shaping soldiers' patriotic and internationalistic attitudes is also an important task of our paper. And so is the strengthening of friendship and brotherhood of arms between the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

[Question] Let's talk about the everyday details of editing, about regular columns and public affairs campaigns planned for the immediate future; in short, about the forms in which the program of your paper is carried out.

[Answer] Military-political commentary is our specialty. But not only this. "Clashes," born in the period of the most acute political struggle, are a very important regular item in our paper. When the country was threatened by a growing counterrevolution, when hostile political forces were undermining the foundations of our system, we stood up for the defense of the socialist state, of Polish state interests. In a great number of publications we still show our political enemies: the underground and Western radio stations which carry out open propaganda aggression against Poland. In the columns of our paper we write about all problems connected with our country's recovery from the crisis and building of national understanding. We try to express by means of various journalistic forms everything that is the very breath of life for the country, the world and the army.

Currently, our attention is focused on the 40th anniversary of the Polish Army. This is not only the army's but also the entire society's jubilee. We think that this is a proper occasion to present the history of our army and its present role.

Thank you for the interview.

Comments of Assistant Editor

Warsaw ZIELONY SZTANDAR in Polish 12 Jun 83 p 2

[Interview with Col Antoni Paczesniak, assistant editor of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, by Bartosz Glowacki: "Only One Question; Comrade in War and Military Service"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What are your reflections on the 40th anniversary of the newspaper you've been with for so many years? What was ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI like and what is it like today?

[Answer] Reflections? First of all, I'm surprised that it's been so many years already. As many as the Polish People's Army and T. Kosciuszko First Division, because the newspaper was born and accompanied the formation of the Kosciuszko Division of which I was a soldier. My first contact with ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI was that of a reader of the newspaper. I had it in my hands in Sielce camp. Later on, after a number of years, in 1949 I became a journalist of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and I've been with it for 34 years now, that means quite a large part of my adult life. So I know my newspaper a little, I know what it used to be like, what it is like now and how it developed.

And it developed along with the army. This is the way the first issue of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI looked. Date: 12 June 1943. An unpretentious daily consisting of a single sheet of paper printed on both sides. Issued in field conditions, set by hand, printed on a so-called pedal, that is on a hand press. And yet, in spite of this simplicity, the paper played a great role at that time: it was the first and the only printed Polish word in Sielce in the period of formation and training of our division, and later on, on a battle-front. It was bought up quickly and voraciously read by soldiers who saw in it a piece of Poland where they were going bringing freedom. In the paper there was news from the occupied country, front communiques as well as information and materials on the division's life. The first editions amounted to 2,000 copies, later on they reached in excess of 4,000, and the paper appeared four to five times a week, which, considering field conditions, was quite an achievement. Second Lieutenant Henryk Werner was the first editor in chief, with a staff of several people.

The paper was developing; it changed its title, but only temporarily. When the First Corps and later the First Army were formed, the paper was no longer that of a division and its title changed to ZWYCIĘZYMY [WE WILL WIN] and in January 1945, to POLSKA ZBROJNA [ARMED POLAND]. ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI returned to its original title in 1950.

What is it like today? It is explained to a certain extent by the subtitle GAZETA CODZIENNA WOJSKA POLSKIEGO [THE POLISH ARMY DAILY]. ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI is a military paper meant in the first place for the cadre of the Polish People's Army, for officers and all those readers who are interested in the problem of the country's defense.

As is stressed by our readers, the section dealing with public affairs and military information is a strong point of our paper. The daily takes up in its columns a fierce political struggle with opponents both outside and inside the country, with everybody who threatens Poland's defense. Talking about the problems of defense, it's the paper's duty to present our adversary's plans, his intentions and actions aimed at us. The paper keeps soldiers and officers company in exercise fields and artillery ranges every day.

The soldiers' former front comrade now plays the role of a comrade in service, adviser, and source of information for the army. Such is our paper and we want to see it like this.

Hearty congratulations and best wishes to the celebrator of the jubilee from  
ZIELONY SZTANDAR.

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WARSAW PARTY OFFICIALS OUTLINE PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 83 pp 50-57

/Article by Jerzy Mazurek, secretary, PZPR Warsaw Committee, and Seweryn Kowalski, manager, Propaganda and Agitation Department, PZPR Warsaw Committee/

/Text/ When analyzing the causes of the present crisis in dozens of publications in the press or in various seemingly scholarly reports, their authors focus above all on the economic mistakes and talk about numerous political errors. Less often they notice the fact that among the most serious reasons behind the crisis was the atrophy of the ideological activity of the party which led to a perfunctory and false interpretation of the state of social consciousness and processes and to creation of a picture of society--an almost classless and at that--which had little in common with the reality.

The blurring of the existing political and ideological divisions, which were becoming only more acute, reached the status of an officially-sponsored propaganda thesis of the 1970's. The critical discussion with the party during the difficult period of 1980-81 uncovered the extent of errors in the ideological work in the past period.

It is worthwhile to quote here from the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress as it spelled out the most important tasks in the field of the ideological and political-propaganda work of the party which concluded the stormy pre-congress discussions: "The deformations of the past years in the ideological sphere have weakened the ideological unity of the party. The congress emphasizes the great importance of the tasks for the theoretical and educational activities and for the development and popularization of marxist-leninist ideology. It is necessary to create conditions within the party which will lead to a close bond between bold and penetrating theoretical thought and everyday activity, and which will allow to draw from the development of a theory, a critical attitude toward the reality, the inspiration to formulate a program, and the party policy.(...)The process of shaping historical consciousness constitutes the field of ideological struggle with the spokesmen of bourgeois historiography as well as with attempts to rehabilitate the rightist groups and their backward concepts."

In the process of drawing conclusions from the critical evaluation of ideological and political-propaganda work the Warsaw party organization in the last 3 years has taken steps, which by giving more significance to this particularly important field of party work may bring about ideological and political consolidation of the party ranks as well as regaining and subsequently strengthening the party's influence in society. Increased ideologically and political-propaganda activities of the basic links and echelons ought to be considered as one of the main conditions for overcoming the crisis and liquidating its effects, as well as for the success in the struggle, aiming at the social isolation of political opponents, for the creation of the basis for the national accord and its civic "expansion," and for the rebuilding and strengthening of the ideological-political unity of the party.

The Warsaw party organization executes these tasks in the course of its everyday working the framework of a uniform system of propaganda and agitation activities. That system consists of informational, educational, instruction-agitational, mass-political, research, and popularization activities. In the last 2 years in each of these areas significant changes and reevaluations have been made with regard to the forms and methods of activity and each of them were filled with new content, which was compatible with the new conditions.

It would be difficult to present in detail all directions and forms of the political-propaganda and ideological work conducted by the Warsaw party organization, hence the presentation that follows will be a selective one.

The main problem and task of the informational-propaganda work was overcoming the influence of the opponent on the social consciousness, particularly among the big industry working class in Warsaw and in the Warsaw Voivodship. The presentation of achievements in the development of party mass information would not be complete without mentioning the fact that the seeds of the system in this area of the party work were planted as late as the early fall of 1980 and its first stage was crowned in January 1981 by the beginning of publishing of the Bulletin of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, a "fast" publication, intended for mass circulation. The creation of the system of mass internal party information was in response to numerous requests from the members of the Warsaw party organization.

The political situation of the years 1980-81 required fast circulation of information within the party, but the actions taken encountered many barriers. A serious obstacle in our informational work was the low acceptance level of and trust in party propaganda among workers' crews, including some party members. This was mainly the result of great havoc in social consciousness created in the aftermath of total criticism of the bases of the socialist system and of the negation of the achievement of People's Poland which was developed by the rich propaganda apparatus of Solidarity, assisted by the western centers of political and ideological subversion. Often that activity was carried out with total impunity in conditions of aggressive informational-propaganda pressure from Solidarity, particularly in enterprises. Thus, overcoming this situation and regaining the trustworthiness of the party propaganda was a particularly urgent and important task.

The Bulletin of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, published at least twice a week during the first phase, fulfilled its role in unmasking the true aims of the antisocialist forces. Its publications also helped in the struggle for preserving the marxist-leninist character of the party (this occurred in particular during the period preceding the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress) as well as for ideological and organizational unity of the Warsaw party organization.

One of the most important tasks of the Warsaw Committee after the 9th Congress and the 18th Warsaw Party Reports-Elections Conference was to create fast system of internal information for the Warsaw party organization and creating for it a separate organizational and editorial support system. This task was executed by the Warsaw Party Information Center, functioning within the Propaganda and Agitation Department structure, and which was created in September 1981 by the Warsaw Committee Executive Board. It allows proper processing, utilization, and popularization on a mass scale of the internal party information and propaganda materials prepared centrally (mainly by the Central Committee Information Department).

The year 1981 was also a period of struggle for maintaining control of the enterprise PA systems, newspapers, and propaganda and information centers. We were not able to win it everywhere, therefore the period after 13 December 1981 became the period of reconstruction of many elements of the structure and program of the political-propaganda activity in the enterprise party organizations. That process has not been completed yet in view of the lack of legal regulations concerning the status of the ideological-educational work centers which were postulated, among others, in the resolution of the last Warsaw PZPR Reports-Elections Conference.

The measure of the results, achieved in the party mass propaganda, is the quantitative growth of the Warsaw Party Information Center /WOIP/ publications: AKTUALNOSCI Bulletin of the Warsaw Party Committee, issued in 12-20,000 copies (170 issues were published between January 1981 and June 1983); FAKTY DNIA, changed into FAKTY TYGODNIA, issued in 3-6,000 copies (370 issues as of now in addition to the rural edition of FAKTY TYGODNIA, jointly edited with the Warsaw Committee Agricultural, Trade, and Consumption Department--21 issues as of now); so-called sheet information, issued based on need; numerous leaflets; various reprints (series or individual publications) concerning important political and social problems;\*

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\* Examples of this kind of publications can be a reprint folder with several dozens of documents related to the history of the May Day holiday in Poland and containing, among others, xerox copies of leaflets, published by the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania /SDKPIL/, Communist Party of Poland /KPP/ Polish Socialist Party-Left /PPS-Lewica/, Polish Workers' Party /PPR/, workers publications in the last few dozen years, posters, and leaflets (this publication was intended for school youths on the even of 1 May 1983) and the series, entitled "Problemy dnia" /Problems of the Day/, including seven reprint collections from the Polish and foreign press, commentaries and discussions on religious problems, the state-Church relations, and the coming pope's visit in Poland (so-called papal series) /

and everyday telex information, covering district echelons, Regional Party Propaganda Centers /ROPP/, and enterprise committees (120 units).

Another achievement is developing good speed in transmitting information to the I-Level echelons and enterprise committees; in particular tense situations it became possible to act faster than the opponent's propaganda (it took place for the first time during the strike at the Higher Officers School for Firemen).

The publishing of informational materials on a regular basis has been secured due to the creation of a special editorial-publishing support system and due to the removal to a considerable degree of numerous obstacles in organizing distribution at the I-level echelons and at most enterprise committees.

Steps have been taken to improve the adaptation of language of the propaganda means to the needs and capabilities of their recipients and the forms of transmission have been diversified to adapt them better to various environments and socioprofessional groups, and this was coupled with making the content speak stronger to the sphere of feelings and emotions.

The period after 13 December have brought further broadening of the informational-propaganda activity. This was related, among others, to the progressing political-ideological activization of the basic party organizations and to greater organizational efforts in the environments themselves. This led, among others, to increasing of this form of party work by the district party committees and some enterprise echelons (bulletins; information pamphlets, etc.), to perfection of the means of the "central" information (from the Central Committee or Warsaw Committee) processing, and to striving at basing the informational-propaganda work of the I-level echelons and basic party organizations /POP/ at least gradually on their own aktiv (agitators, lecturers, distributors), coupled with better utilization and preparation of received information and materials. The roll of ROPP as the coordinators of informational activity in the field has increased. These achievements do not cover up deficiencies which still exist. Among them the most important are: low efficiency of informational channels which negatively affects the regularity and transmission speed of materials from the I-level echelons and enterprise committees to POP, department party organizations /OOP/, and party groups; too slow formation of the political-propaganda aktiv, specialized in informational and broader activities and attached to the party committees; and still insufficient expansionism of POP and Enterprise Committee /KZ/ propaganda activists in reaching the entire work force with the party information.

Overcoming the above deficiencies requires a comprehensive approach to activities within the realm of broadly understood ideological-educational work of the party. The informational-propaganda activity is one of its important elements. Comprehensive approach means that it is necessary to rid the party structures--from the top level to the basic links--of the too often present formula in the propaganda work which maintains a division of the party members and echelons into "producers" of propaganda, intermediate

link ("transmitter") and the receiver ("expectant"). The thesis that conducting political-propaganda work is one of the basic duties of a party member and a party link was the basis for the program and structural-organizational principles of the ideological-educational activity in the links and echelons of the Warsaw party organization prepared by the Warsaw Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department in June of this year. These mainly envisage further increase of the program-organizational role of the I-level echelons in that sphere of the party work (thus, it means overcoming the domination of the "transmitter" element from the voivodship level and moving that element to the basic links) as well as emphasizing considerable increase in the social aktiv, involved in the ideological and political-propaganda work, and of the growth of activity on the part of enterprise committees, basic and department party organizations as well as party groups with regard to developing their own forms of work which also must mean the increase in the enterprise aktiv directly involved in such work.

A particular emphasis in the program is put on the need to create the propaganda aktiv at the lowest level: POP or OOP in production and in the party group. It is there where the greatest need exists for the party informers (that is the working name for this function), who perform not only the function of the distributors of informational materials, but also of commentators and agitators. The Warsaw party organization intends to fully implement this only briefly outlined program in the second half of 1983. The ideological unity of the party most of all requires from its members the knowledge of the science of marxism-leninism. This must be a real and not a fragmentary one, based on slogans. The better the preparation—also on a theoretical level—of the part member for combating enemy ideas and views, the better and more effective is his involvement in it. That knowledge is indispensable for evaluation of occurring political and social phenomena from a class and marxist-leninist position. It also affects the success of defense of the party program and policies, their popularization, and, most of all, winning social support for and participation in their execution. The strengthening of the party ideological unity means, among others, securing for its members concrete, convincing, and fast information. However, of decisive importance here is the ideological training, which makes it possible to transform the socialism sympathizers into active executors, who are conscious of their ideological choice.

The problem of ideological training is very complex, therefore what follows is only a fragment of the ideological activity of the Warsaw party organization which concretized an important part of the resolution of the 18th Warsaw Reforts-Elections PZPR Conference of June 1981: "The Warsaw party organization, which due to its intellectual potential plays a special role in ideological activity and the development of marxist-leninist thought, ought to make a meaningful contribution to returning the proper place and rank to the theory of marxism-leninism and its proper utilization in ideological work. The conference obligates party echelons to inspire ideological discussions within the party, among others, through various forms of training, seminars, and discussions."

An interesting form of ideological discussion are ideological conferences organized during the present term. They are prepared by the Warsaw Ideological Training Center /WOKI/ and its Program Council, consisting, among others, of members of the Warsaw party echelon and its ideological commission. The selection of topics is based on the following two basic considerations: first, the topic must strongly reflect the political-social realities of the present day; and second, the form of presentation must allow patterns in accordance with marxism-leninism.

Three ideological conferences have been organized so far: (1) "Ideological and political aspects of the economic reform" (March 1982); discussing that topic in the period of implementation of the reform in the first months of last year was extremely important both for economic and political reasons; (2) "Shaping the historical consciousness of the Poles" (June 1982); that topic was important, among others, due to numerous errors committed in the past in the process of historical education and also because of the peculiarly-understood "correcting" of history and interpreting the most recent Polish history by political opponents, for example, the Workers' Defense Committee /KOR/ and the Confederation of Independent Poland /KPN/; and (3) "Political attitudes of youth" (February 1983); that topic was chosen not only as a result of the 9th PZPR Central Committee plenary meeting, devoted to the youth problems, but it was also an attempt to draw conclusions from sociological studies on the attitudes of the young generation of Poles as well as an evaluation of the causes of those attitudes and views.

These conferences in addition to political scientists, sociologists, economists, etc., contain among their participants also the practitioners from various spheres of our social and political life, those, who on everyday basis participate in the broadly understood educational process: party activists from industrial enterprises, teachers, and the youth movement activists. After each conference a publication is issued which later reaches the party echelons, enterprise party organizations, and particularly those environments, which are the most interested in the given topic.

Other ideological conferences are being prepared. The first of them is tentatively entitled, "The Polish working class of 1983," and it will be devoted, among others, to a discussion of the present structure of that social class, to the assessment of its factual role in the contemporary political, social, and economic events, and to the concretization of its attitudes and aspirations. Another conference will be devoted to the difficult question of cultural policy in the conditions of crisis and economic reform.

In addition to ideological conferences a new form of provoking discussions on the theory and practice of marxism-leninism among party activists in the capital has become a series of ideological meetings, programmed and organized by the Warsaw Committee Ideological Commission. This initiative, taken in connection with the 12th and 13th PZPR Central Committee plenary meetings as well as the plenary meeting of the Warsaw echelon soon to convene to discuss the problems of ideological and political-propaganda work, has the

opportunity to become a lasting element of the system of the ideological-political activity of the Warsaw Committee. The main goal of the organizers of these meetings is creating for the large group of party activists an opportunity for an ideological reflection on problems they face in everyday political action. Hence, these vivid and often controversial discussions are predominantly attended by party activists from the biggest industrial enterprises in the capital and also many members of central and Warsaw party authorities. Very active at these meetings have been the members of the Warsaw and district workers' commissions. To all of them the experiences and rethinking from this kind of discussions are often helpful in their work in their own environments, enterprises, and collectives.

Since March of this year there have been three ideological discussions held. The first one was devoted to the meaning of the managerial, leading, and service roles of the party, a question very fundamental to the party. The other two were less important as they focused on problems of political importance not only for today, but also for the future. These discussions concentrated on the ideological functions of the Church and the Catholic clergy in Poland in view of the contemporary sociopolitical doctrine of the Vatican as well as on the sociopolitical situation among the intelligentsia with the focus on the creative environments in the arts. Other meetings are under preparation; they will focus, among others, on the class context of the national accord and the workers-farmers alliance. As in the case of the ideological discussions, there will be publications prepared after these meetings as well.

In addition to publications, documenting various forms of ideological discussion in the Warsaw party organization there are other publications under preparation which--we believe--will help in conducting ideological and propaganda activities. Thus, WOKI has been instrumental in publishing series of publications offering syntheses of important historical and political moments in the history of the People's Poland such as "October 1956" and "The year 1948--PPR, PPS." The following are being prepared for publication: "Vatican's policy toward Poland, the sociopolitical doctrine of the Church" and "Reports from studies on the political attitudes of the school youth," among others.

Limited space does not permit a presentation of other forms of the ideological and political-propaganda activities of the Warsaw party organization, such as lecturing-agitation, mass-political, or research activities. All of them have one common goal: to restore the ideological work in the party to its proper position and to cover with this activity all party members.

8609

CSO: 2600/1210

## CONTENTS OF JULY ISSUE OF NOWE DROGI OUTLINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] In the article by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, inspired by the anniversary of the proclamation of July Manifesto, and published in July issue of NOWE DROGI, we read as follows: "In that process which fundamentally transformed Polish life, there got together and were fused into one whole the social-class and national-state threads. In that was also expressed the essence of the synthesis performed by the Polish Workers' Party, by the Polish communists and forces of the social Left. In that lay its innovatory gist and its crucial significance. Poland was reborn this time as a state of the working people--of a class domination of workers and peasants united in a mighty alliance, and with a leading role of the workers' Marxist-Leninist Party and its coalition with all the progressive forces of democracy, not for the chosen but for the widest masses of the people."

It is not without good reason that I am quoting this fragment, for it correlates with articles by the ZSL and SD secretaries, Jerzy Grzybaczak and Alfred Beszterda, published in the same issue of NOWE DROGI.

But let us return to the article by Jozef Czyrek. As a matter of fact each anniversary reminds us of the period of time that which includes this anniversary and prompts us to look back on the road traveled by us. Although these elements are also included in the article its main significance is to lay stress on the continuity that has been likewise emphasized in its title: "The Road of the July Manifesto," for it was at that time that were established bases and were laid foundations of People's Poland. Therefore, in reminding us of the motto of the 7th Plenum CC about the "return to the sources," the author wants us to remember that the party had in mind the whole century of history of its predecessors as well as that of its own, but that also it has pointed out in particular the necessity to refer to a crucial accomplishment of the PPR [Polish Workers' Party] and of cooperating with it the reborn PPS [Polish Socialist Party].

For, indeed, that period of time, that year of 1944, is a source of our recent history. And it is precisely to a history and need of evaluation of this very part of Polish history, a just evaluation, that one of the threads of the article is being devoted. The author writes thus, among others: "Once more



we are of the opinion that historical research and evaluations must be clear-sighted and straightforward. We do not want there to be any 'taboos' or 'blanks,' that only hinder the formation of historic self-consciousness of the society and in particular that of the youth." And he continues: "A proposition that proclaims that it is of no importance who comes from where, but what is his drift, we relate not only to today's vacillations and perplexities. It is fully credible, for it was implemented and observed since 1956." Getting ahead of this year's anniversary the author postulates the elaboration of a detailed balance-sheet of the 40-year period while taking into account the overall complexity of factors that had a bearing on it.

Jerzy Grzybaczak, in his very first sentence continues so to say that thought while writing: "The history of People's Poland does need a just and profound evaluation. It will not do either to blacken it or to varnish its reality." And to these opening sentences is consistently subordinated the whole article. The author does not recall the postwar rural events, but he quotes some data that illustrate well the changes that occurred in the last half-century. For example, 50 years ago 61 percent of the overall workforce was employed in agriculture, whereas in 1980--only 25-26 percent. But the gist of the article, its chief point, is the worker-peasant alliance. A brief, synthetic reminder of the principles of agricultural policy in its respective stages of the 39-year period, inconsistency of policy of the 1970's can serve as an answer to a reader who is puzzled by a peculiar "undulation" of the feelings and moods between workers and peasants. And harmony in the relations between city and countryside--reminds us the author--is good for our people and our socialist fatherland.

"Under the Banner of Socialist Democracy"--is the title of the article by Alfred Beszterda. We know, indeed, very little about Democratic Party [SD] and its history. The author, who clearly is aware of it, reminds us therefore briefly not only of the history of the SD, but also gives us a brief outline of the development of democratic thought. Yet this historical reminder is not in the nature of an encyclopedic information, for its purpose is to explain the causes that induced the SD in 1944 to become a political ally of the PPR and PPS, and why this positive role of the SD was afterwards discounted. The facts given in the article as well as quotations can also serve as examples of the formation of the thought and model of a political organization.

Beside the aforesaid three articles, each of which, although in a different degree, touches upon economic problems, one can deepen one's knowledge in this area by reading several others. Thus, Stanislaw Kuzinski writes about socioeconomic history of the PRL, Alojzy Melich methods to realize the economic reform, and Maksymilian Pohorille about a consumption model.

The article of Marian Wojciechowski is devoted to the 38th anniversary of the Potsdam agreements. On the other hand, the July issue of NOWE DROGI, in its section devoted to the communist and workers' parties of the world, speaks also of the Communist Party activities in two countries: Salvador and Brazil.

1015

CSO: 2600/1189

MATTERS OF HISTORICAL STUDY CONSIDERED

Military Historian on Project

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1694, 19 Jun 83  
pp 20-23

[Interview with Colonel General Nikica Pejnovic, wartime commissar of the Sixth Lika Division and director of the Center for Strategic Research of the JNA General Staff, by Sava Dautovic; time and place not stated]

[Text] Tito entered the military sphere not as a professional soldier, but as a politician, a revolutionary, a party organizer. Nevertheless, he became so well known as a military strategist that the history of World War II recognizes him without dispute. The voices calling for revision of the judgment on the Chetniks as a supposed anti-fascist force of home defenders, as a reserve of the revolution, are aiming at devaluation of Yugoslav revolutionary accomplishments and merits.

Reconciling the passion of a fighter participant and the cold objectivity of a researcher, Colonel General Nikica Pejnovic, wartime commissar of the Sixth Lika Division and director of the Center for Strategic Research of the JNA General Staff, spoke for NIN about the originality of Tito's contribution to military theory and practice, on the messages of various feuilleton and memoir satirical slander, on the causes of mass counterrevolution and the character of Draza Mihailovic's Chetnik movement, on crucial social and military features of World War II and on other sensitive topics of the historiography of the National Liberation War and the revolution.

At the Center for Strategic Research of the JNA General Staff an ambitious scholarly research project is under way, with the title "Tito's Military Acts." In seven different topical subdivisions, they will study among other things Tito's contribution to the application and development of the Marxist theory of war, the military forms and subjects of our war, the organization of the armed forces, military maneuvers and the role of military force in the socialist transformation of society. At the head of the large team of the most prominent researchers and military leaders who will undertake this project stands the director of the Center (and its founder), the military commissar

of the Sixth Lika Division and a military theoretician, Colonel General Nikica Pejnovic (born in 1921).

In discussing the concept of the project "Tito's Military Acts" with Pejnovic, we asked him to answer a group of questions that relate to the broader study of the National Liberation War and the revolution. His opinion on the topics discussed here is the more interesting since it comes from a participating fighter and a researcher who strives to reconcile the unavoidable passion of the former with the required objectivity of the latter.

Question What are the basic ideas of the project you are directing? Have we reached the phase where we must introduce the factor of economic rationality into the structure of our research?

Answer The scientific research sub-project "Tito's Military Acts" is a component and unavoidable part of a broader research project relating to Tito's contribution to Marxism and socialism, which by its nature is of general significance for all Yugoslavia. I say an unavoidable part because, as in other spheres, Tito's contribution to military theory and practice is so significant that both in a scholarly sense and in an economic sense it is justified. The manner for completing the macro-project will be of inter-republic and province scope, with assignments divided for the completion of individual sub-projects. Besides the segment relating to Tito's military acts, which the Army will carry out and finance, there are also segments on Tito's contribution to the revolution, to solving the national question, self-management, non-alignment, party organization, etc.

Many evaluations and comparative measurements on military acts are impossible without some relation to an evaluation of Tito's contribution to such areas as the revolution, building the party, the national question, etc. Tito entered the military sphere not as a professional soldier, but as a politician, a revolutionary, a party organizer, which means that his activities in those spheres unavoidably reflected on his military creativity. In many ways the reverse is just as true.

It means to me that in the realization of our research concept we will have to constantly and most persistently take into account two equally unacceptable tendencies. One relates to the danger that teams and individuals will become involved in extensive descriptions of historical events and, in the multitude of facts and events, lose the main direction of the research, which is not historiography, but evaluations, classification and theoretical organization of that which is understood by the term contribution. Naturally, this goal cannot be achieved without knowledge of the sources and documents, but their utilization must be directed to the indicated goal of studying that contribution.

The way that Tito worked in battle practice and functioned in a number of roles will certainly impose the need for a dialectical division between contributions, as well as the necessity for placing his practice in military maneuvers and the organization of armed forces into a scientific framework that

will approach the level of theoretical principles of a new type and of more permanent significance. Every resort to unnecessary apologetics or excessive glorification can only burden the efforts and obscure the intended aims.

Another powerful extreme is concealed in excessive theoretical abstraction that would not pay enough attention to or begin with the actual objective processes and real events, or that would not rely closely on his works and recorded sources. For example, we will not be writing a history of the armed forces with factographic pictures of the place, time and manner of formation of individual units, but neither will we take over existing theoretical tracts from the framework of organized sociological or military theories. We must determine what the innovations and original points of our findings are, to determine Tito's contribution in every respect.

Question A number of scientists have come out publicly against, while many others have not committed themselves, thus ignoring the principle of a consensus in scholarship, since they consider the project to be unscholarly and even absurd. How much does such a practice contribute to the fact that, not uncommonly, scholarship appears to be an agreement, and what else should be changed to prevent that?

Answer I am not well enough acquainted with the phenomenon you refer to, except that I know that from time to time such reports reach the public. Our programmatic determinations and the nature of scholarly activity are such that they point up the fact that scholarship must be and remain a judge unto itself. The establishment of scientific truths and the verification of scientific knowledge cannot be tied either to commands or to consensus, or to being outvoted. A broad, free and open public dialogue about all scientific perceptions must remain the only credo and method of scholarly articulation. No one in science is obligated to eventually find a consensus in the framework of some redaction of the scholarly team, the editorial board, or any other similar institution. On the contrary, everyone is obliged to rebel against something they regard to be unscientific or unproved.

The appearance of every publication must normally be subjected to scholarly criticism, regardless of the type of edition involved and the problems it discusses. From this it follows that criticism is an unavoidable and legal means in the struggle for scholarly freedom in the constant quest for scientific truths. Criticism cannot be eliminated or stifled either by the consensus method or by majority rule. Rather, it always remains as the voice of scholarly conscience. All of this, however, does not mean that in objective practice there are no difficulties and problems related to scientific verification of specific projects and their results; this happens at all levels of the scientific structure. Frequently, verification includes administrative structures through whose authority the government influences individuals or teams, as well as the freedom of scholarly criticism.

#### Scratches on the Face of the Revolution

Neither can the need for agreement and negotiations in scholarship be totally ignored, particularly in matters of coordination and direction and relative

to problems of determining priorities and creating financial systems. That sort of practice cannot, however, be transferred by inertia to evaluation of research results, to establishment of factual states and the acceptance or rejection of scholarly convictions and positions.

Question We are witnesses to manifestations that blur the conscience of the revolution. How do you explain that?

Answer Our public has been inundated by some manifestations of that type; they are not alarming, but neither are they completely harmless.

Publications about the ethnogenesis of some of our peoples and nationalities have drawn attention. They are essentially nationalistic political "Scholarship" with the aim of proving the greatest possible individuality and autochthony to establish the maximum degree of separatism and historico-ethnic diverseness. The historical conscience of our revolution is being undermined by efforts of individuals on the left and the right who seek to prove that we were blind executors of foreign will, or that we did not contribute anything special by our fight and gave nothing new.

The thesis of the supposed inhumanity of our revolution, its Stalinist genesis and charismatic leaders, and different estimates of its course, are not elaborated very much, but rather are based on methods of sowing doubts and psychological destruction.

The voices calling for revision of the judgment on the Chetniks as a supposed antifascist force of home defenders, as the reserve of the revolution, are not aimed at broadening tolerance and overcoming old divisions but at devaluing our revolutionary accomplishments and merits.

If to everything we add various feuilleton and memoir satirical slanders in which we are informed as to who began first, who is worthy of more and who of less credit, or someone in a buffoon-like way writes about his or her own greatness and feats, even engaging in polemics that are no longer viable, it all cannot help to repulse the reader, particularly the young reader, and leave scratches on the picture of the revolution. Perhaps the most important fact in all of this is that the history of the National Liberation War and the revolution has not been studied enough in the schools, and is not studied in a way that would mean a Marxist analysis of causes and manifestations, with historically educated and cultivated aims. We either become entangled in insufficiently conceived and disconnected factography, or we use phrases that usually ring hollow.

Nonetheless, I would like to say that the polyp of bureaucracy and the lack of consistency in fighting against it is the chief reason for manifestations of disintegration of historical awareness of the revolution.

Question Why does the history of the National Liberation War lack a single historical synthesis that would represent us domestically and abroad, in place of various narrative structures?

Answer It really would be desirable and useful to have such a synthesis as you suggest. The only question is whether such a creation should be made by the generation that was an actor and a protagonist of the historical event.

We should not lose sight of the fact that the history of the National Liberation War is not the same as the history of a war between two countries. It involved deep revolutionary social ruptures and transformations whose understanding is not to be found in them as such, nor in the time when they occurred; rather, their roots go far back into history to the preceding historical periods that must also be covered by historical treatment. I am not competent to estimate how well the prior history has been dealt with and scientifically grounded from a Marxist aspect. I would also mention that we are still involved in primary historical treatments, and some have only been begun recently, and that only includes some of the materials at great world historical centers, and monographic, memoir literature and publication of documents in miscellany collections are in full flourish.

Where Did the Massiveness of the Counterrevolution Come From?

Even though we do not have the desired synthesis for the entire National Liberation War and the revolution, there is a capital historiographic accomplishment of great scholarly and pedagogical value that along with the materials previously mentioned brings us closer to the historiographic totality of the National Liberation War.

Question How would you explain the breadth of the Yugoslav revolution and its simultaneous massive counterrevolution? Are those manifestations of some significance, as a reaction, for the current sociopolitical situation?

Answer No matter how much the question appears at first glance to be clear and simple, in essence it is complex. I think that for a valid answer we must first accept the premise that we cannot separate our revolution from the National Liberation War, since it was a case of a single process that organically could not be divided. On the one side, it is impossible to separate revolutionary goals from patriotic ones, and on the other, collaboration from counterrevolution.

Certainly, part of the counterrevolution came from prior collaboration with the occupier, in the same way that part of the collaboration came through the counterrevolution. There were even two and eventually four kinds of Chetniks. All of them, however, became mixed up and bound together, first among themselves but also with the occupier as the main force, into a single camp.

We would also conform the axiom that no revolution ever begins with a majority, but rather, develops that majority gradually and painfully, through armed, political, and every other kind of struggle. It prevails, attracting to its side not only the undecided part of the populace but even the greater part of the former opponents.

The main causes for massive counterrevolution and collaboration in our country are to be found in the reign of the former bourgeois royal system that by national enslavement and religious division of our peoples created a solid basis for foreign powers to develop and deepen that schism even more. The slogan "Disunite and rule" has been valid from time immemorial, and in our lands it has been massively demonstrated. To this policy the occupier added the criminal practice of genocide, terror, reprisals and intimidation, acting extremely cruelly toward everyone who even potentially could threaten the occupation system. Yet when the battle began, it turned out that that behavior was a knife with two edges. By its policy of battling against the occupation as the chief enemy, declared goals that no return to the old way was possible since it was the main perpetrator of the national tragedy, and its policy of brotherhood and unity, the leading force of our revolution cleared the way to the broadest national masses and gathered them into a broad patriotic and at the same time revolutionary front of struggle.

The victorious magnanimity of our revolution made it possible for everyone to be rehabilitated and as a loyal citizen, to find his or her place and live and work normally.

The negative impact exerted and still being felt from the hostile emigration, which was joined by a part of the emigration connected to the Informbureau counterrevolution, in various ways and with the aid of foreign reactionary forces, attempted to maintain positions and cause us grief in all possible ways. Our difficulties, mistakes and insufficient activity naturally supported opposition attitudes, whether they were of old or new origin, and they need not necessarily be political at all times. There were also ones of a psychological nature, and under new circumstances, they can narrow our mass base.

Now it is primarily a matter of maintaining and continually developing all our points of support, developing and strengthening unity, and not of gaining the initiative as once was the case. The LC can prevent the erosion of its influence by greater revolutionary activity and unity in the closest relationship with the working class, the working masses and all creative people, through the system of socialist self-management.

Question You have written about essential social and military features of World War II. How would you present them in a short synthetic formula that would, we might say, be your own?

Answer Finally we have come closer to my terrain. In a sociopolitical sense, World War II contrasted to World War I in that the first was unjust and imperialistic on both sides. World War II was by character more defensive, liberationistic and just for the countries and forces of the anti-fascist coalition. Analogously, it was imperialistic, aggressive and unjust on the other side.

The general validity of this assertion is not altered by elements and signs that appear to be contrary to it, but which relate to various imperialistic manifestations such as the division into spheres of influence, the unnatural

division of some countries, and unequal and enslaving attempts against others. Such tendencies do not find their causes just in World War II, its character and time frame, but in the policies of the great powers before and after the war.

Features of World War II include as well the major fact that the forces of the anti-Hitler coalition (as well as some anti-fascist and progressive movements) were caught in disunity, militarily and economically insufficiently prepared and to a large degree surprised, not only in terms of military strategy but also politically. In that sense, France and the USSR are typical examples.

In nearly a paranoid manner, Hitler's strategy determined the aims of the war, striving to achieve world dominion in our age, and even hoping to conquer the world and make his own colonies of the great colonial powers and other world powers, regardless of his demographic, material and even technical inferiority to the unlimited resources of his opponents.

Of all the world theaters of war in which action unfolded, the greatest significance and the greatest dynamics of ruin and destruction were to be found in Europe, where finally the outcome of World War II was decided. As a result of the war, and even during its course, the world stage was dominated by the two most powerful world powers, relegating all others to lower rungs on the worldwide ladder of might. There a new dialectical struggle began, of which we are now witnesses. During the course of the war, America developed its productive capacities to a fantastic degree and emerged onto all continents on a broad front from which it still has not withdrawn, nor intends to do so. More recently, something similar has been happening with the other world power.

As a result of human penetration into the hidden secrets and unknown power of nature, the atomic bomb as a military weapon discovered in World War II, besides the tragedy wrought upon the Japanese nation, has warned the world of the cataclysmic dangers that have threatened since then.

These observations about World War II cannot be completed without pointing out that within its framework, but not casually connected to it, two significant socialist revolutions unfolded, in China and Yugoslavia, and that partisan warfare, despite all the technical advances, was later reconfirmed as an irreplaceable means and method of battle for national and social liberation of many peoples.

We Are Not Only A Mosaic of Republics and Provinces

Question How do you perceive the Yugoslav character of the revolution and the sense of the current debates in relation to the Yugoslav lands and the military-political leadership of the revolution? That which has been said about the dialectics of politics cites the years 1941 and 1948 as turning points when speaking primarily about Yugoslavia.



Answer The essence of the dialectic you mention is that the parts and the whole are not in opposition. The National Liberation War simultaneously had the goal of freeing Yugoslavia as a whole and each of its peoples individually, not only from the occupier and the collaborationists, but also from dependence and a semicolonial position in relation to world imperialistic powers. I think that history has provided evidence that Yugoslavia is a social and state community of lasting and vital interest to all its peoples and nationalities, in the same way as it has taught us that without new reciprocal domestic relationships, based on equality, mutual solidarity and self-management independence, it cannot have internal strength and durability.

We do not talk only about the Yugoslavia of 1941 and 1948, but also about the times between these key years, as well as before and after them. I will illustrate this notion with an example from the military sphere of our development that shows that all our brigades, divisions, corps, general headquarters and other units were designated by national and regional titles, such for example as Dalmatian, Slovenian, Krajiska, Hercegovinian, Montenegrin and Macedonian. Yet no one for a moment ever thought that they were not to the same degree Yugoslav, as a component part of the national liberation army of Yugoslavia or the Yugoslav army.

Certainly, in later developments we have an example of a different sort, when our republics and provinces, as well as other sociopolitical units no longer had the right and obligation of directly, in their own framework, creating military organizations that as such would be component parts, together with the JNA, of the armed forces of the SFRY. By creating territorial defenses headed by republic and province headquarters as part of the political system, we not only have returned to the original revolutionary traditions, but in new circumstances we have provided for harmonious development in that realm and strengthened our overall defensive capabilities. The fact that we have called it territorial defense and not something else is perhaps better.

I think that this example is also instructive for other spheres: it says that it is not a matter of dividing into republic and federation, national and general Yugoslav designations, but rather of a coordination that is both at the same time, based on the unity of the revolution, the mutual interests of everyone and the dominant role of the working class and associated labor. We are not merely a mosaic of republics and provinces, but each of them is a mosaic of various nations that can only add to our interconnections.

How Did the Yugoslav Communist Party Achieve General National Legality?

Question In the miscellany "The Strategy of Armed Conflict in the National Liberation War," it states that the Yugoslav Communist Party did not have general national legality. How do you understand that?

Answer I understand that as a sociohistorical state at the time the war of liberation began when the CPY was small in numbers and insufficiently established, yet it assumed historical responsibility for the fate of the armed uprising and the outcome of the war of liberation and revolution.

In the old state, the CPY was outlawed, and its membership pursued, jailed and even secretly liquidated. All of this was accompanied by unprecedented propaganda (the "communist bogey man"), which presented the communists as the greatest social evil and danger, not only for the government and the state, but also for public morals, the family and national existence. When it began the uprising, the CPY numbered only 12,000 members, which speaks for their value and revolutionary tempering but also of their quantitative insufficiency for a new historical role. Thus through heavy battle it had to simultaneously acquire social legality and leadership legitimacy.

Some authors have said that Lenin used a "pacifist putsch" that took an exhausted Russia out of the war and brought the csarist army to disintegration to carry out the October socialist revolution. Some have accused us of using a partisan ambush, under the banner of the national liberation war, to carry out the revolution and take power in haste. Everyone who has even briefly been involved in social transformation will easily perceive that revolutions and wars of national liberation are not carried out by ambushes and tricks. One of the key features of our revolution is precisely that the CPY expanded its influence in the masses right along with the armed conflict, to the point where it became the only generally recognized and accepted political force, which was widely accepted as the leading ideological and political factor in our society.

Question Despite its national betrayal, can the Mihailovic movement be designated a movement with antifascist motives using the verbal assertions of Mihailovic's position in the emigre government and the attitude of the great powers toward him until 1943?

Answer For me as for every veteran fighter, that question is too shocking, even though I know that there have been and still are attempts at revision. The preceding question and answer have already led us to the merits of this outrageous question. If and when we attribute the character and role of national betrayal to Draza's "movement," and since the occupiers were a fascist force, immutable logic says that the betrayal was committed in front of fascist forces. That means that the one who perpetrates the betrayal cannot be anti-fascist. This is not playing with words or formal logic deduction, but the established relationships of social forces in our country and the sharp differentiation of two opposing camps. There can be no neutral middle ground for us.

The Chetnik Movement Was and Remains a Synonym of National Betrayal

"The movement" of Draza Mihailovic has, unfortunately, succeeded for a long time in using blind cynicism and hypocrisy to hold the democratic world public in the illusion that it was the only or the chief fighter against the obscure game, each out of his or her own interests, until the Chetniks were unmasked once and for all. At the beginning the Chetnik leadership attempted to wait in relation to the occupier, but it could not wait in relation to us, and later it appeared to be defending itself from both the occupier and us, right until it admitted that it had begun to collaborate and definitely did not agree to begin battle against the occupier.

The epilogue of the Chetnik movement in itself confirms that the great allies, and even the royal government, took away the possibility of two-faced games from the Chetnik leaders, thereby recognizing their previous collaboration role in relation to the fascist occupiers. For all time, the Chetnik movement became a synonym for odious national betrayal and a retrograde counter-revolutionary force. No sort of revision in that regard can hope for any success, even though here it is already clear that it is not a matter of history, but of retrospective historical revision calling for help from current intentions and transparent political aims of all those who do not agree with the social direction of our development.

#### Availability of Archival Materials

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1697, 10 Jul 83  
pp 28-30

Article by Teodor Andelic

Text How did it happen that the mighty wave of opening historical archives coincided in time so exactly with the unfolding of events? Will Tito's archive be preserved in its entirety? How far has the writing of the new history of the CPY/LCY proceeded in its eighth year of work?

Half in jest, the historians say that nothing changes as fast as the past. In private life, at least that part that is publicly visible, the past automatically includes all those stories we can tell without turning red. "The red stuff" we keep (deeply buried?) in our personal archive. The better and longer it is buried, the more "events." We know that it is the same in history without Dedijers and Kopinices. How, however, can we explain that here in Yugoslavia a mighty and valuable wave of archive openings has temporarily been drowned in the unfolding of events?

One of the rational answers is that we waited too long for the public display of important archival materials. Dr Stanislav Stojanovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Commission for the History of the CPY/LCY, said something similar recently in announcing two new books of the series "Sources for the History of the LCY." Stojanovic is also president of the editorial board of "The Recent Past of the Party"; work on that book has entered its eighth year. Dr Stojanovic: "Work on this edition began with the ambition of publishing as a whole the sources that originated in the Party's activities from its founding until the most recent times. Really, it can be said with good foundation that we have tackled this job after a great delay."

#### A Look at Closed Sessions

Currently three books are in press with materials of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, as well as a collection of party documents on the chartering and the third congress of the LCY. Final editing is being completed on five other miscellanies from the wartime period, and printing is being prepared of materials from plenary sessions of the LCY in the 1948-1952 period. Those were closed meetings that will be available to the public for the first time.

That sort of availability of specific archival material is decided upon everywhere by its creators. For example, if the records originated in the work of the LCY Central Committee, that body decides on their publication. Dr Milovan Bosic, chief of the LCY Central Committee Archives, told us that so-called historical distance everywhere in the world, and here as well, is decreasing. Archives are being opened earlier and earlier and less and less material is waiting longer than the expected time period. Once that time was 70 years; today it is 30. The Law on Yugoslav Archives stipulates that all materials be available to the public after 3 decades. But that Law does, of course, contain a clause stating "except in cases where premature opening of archives might harm the country's interests."

What is premature and what is not is decided by the archives' creators. We asked Dr Bosic, "To what degree are party records available?"

Bosic In large part, and for some periods in their entirety, party records are available to the public. Only a small number of documents "have not yet matured." For the period between the two wars and the wartime period, there are no documents that are being kept secret now.

(In this context, the words of General Terzic, author of the just published book "The Collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia," sound somewhat strange. He stated during the public promotion at the Belgrade Youth Hall that some documents were easier to obtain in foreign archives than in our own, including in the archives of countries whom we opposed!)

Dr. Bosic says that only individual details without historical significance are not published. Let us say, for example, that the entire Archive of the State Defense Court of the old Yugoslavia is opened. There 90 percent of the cases were so-called communist ones. Today they are completely public, with the exception of individual names. Bosic continued that if someone withstood 9 or 10 torture sessions but knuckled under during the 11th, in consideration of living family members such names should not be given. Bosic: "We do the same with descriptive passages or application forms, which at times are so self-critical or exaggeratedly subjective, or where a man puts down his entire personal life. That, like a description of Petar Petrovic himself, cannot have any meaning for history."

Anno Domini 1948

Materials from the sessions of the Politbureau of the LCY Central Committee held during 1945-1948 will be published in a separate book. For the sake of illustration, participants in the first session of the postwar Politbureau in 1945, as listed in the stenographic record kept by Krsto Popivoda, included Tito, Bevc (Edvard Kardelj), Marko (Aleksandar Rankovic), Crni (Streten Zujovic), Mosa (Mosa Pijade), Hebrang (Andrija), Tempo (Svetozar Vukmanovic), Mihailo (Blagoje Neskovic) and Krsto (Popivoda). The topic was the status and situation in Kosovo and Metohija.

The first book in the edition "Sources for the History of the LCY" was published 2 years ago. It was "The Fifth Land Conference of the LCY," and it

contained all the documents of that conference, beginning with Tito's introductory speech all the way to the "Thesis on the National Question" by Mosa Pijade. (Tito's speech had the title "The Work of the Current Leadership From the End of 1937 to the Present: The Organizational Status of our Party; The Youth; The Women Question; Our Volunteers in Spain; Organizational Mistakes; the Question of Cadres; Training Cadres; Procedures With Cadres and the Leadership System; Personal Life of the Party Members; Various Trends and Undesirable Manifestations in the Party; the Future; Discipline; Trotskyism."

The intent in publishing party archival materials is to go beyond 1952, and as Dr Botic says, to publish the stenographic record of the Sixth Congress. Botic: "I can tell you that this is the only such occasion in the practice of the world's communist parties. Another first in the entire world is our "Survey of Archival Collections for All of Yugoslavia." That is a collection of the catalogues that encompasses the entire country. Archive workers began to work on it less than 10 years ago, and the entire collection is expected to be completed in 1984 (the only thing remaining is to put the archive bibliography for Kosovo and Croatia into shape)."

As Dr Stanislav Stojanovic told us, a special book will be prepared and published with party documents and archival materials for March-June 1948, the zenith of the Informbureau Resolution affair. Because of the present point of view, that book will nonetheless contain relatively poor documentation (many records from the first postwar years were written in a rather unspecialized way, and some are even "illiterate"). Those documents and materials about 1948 can be better illuminated by the March-July contextual records.

#### The Comintern Today

Many valuable documents for the history of the KPY/LCY are located in the Central Party Archives of the CPSU, which is also the location of the Comintern archive and those of other international organizations under its control. There is cooperation with it within the framework of interparty relations. So far our archive has received 200,000 archival items from the Soviets. Yugoslav experts believe that is "more than any other party has received."

During last week's debate on documents (congresses) of the Comintern--which now have been published in Yugoslavia--one of your fellow workers (we said to Dr Botic) said that some Comintern archives probably will never be published. Botic responded:

Yes, he was probably thinking about documents relating to trials and purges. There is still more conservatism in that area than when we speak of other sources. The collection we published about the Comintern also contains no stenograms from the plenums and meetings of the executive agencies (individual executive agencies) of the Comintern. It is difficult to get to materials about the mutual relations of individual sections, including those for the CPY section. It is the most difficult to get materials that consider the so-called "Yugoslav question" or, for example, the factional debates in the CPY. In principle, those materials are not given out.

Dr Stanislav Stojanovic said:

The KPY up to now has had no reasons of principle for retaining source historical documentation about its past longer than the law stipulates, or than is customary in the modern world.

On our question as to why then in his view the overall task at hand was approached so late, Dr Stojanovic quickly answered:

Negligence! It is purely a matter of negligence and poor organization. In the immediate postwar period, we did begin to prepare archival materials, but then the work was dropped. In the meantime, some materials have been published, as well as documents that leave out certain parts without telling why that was done!

The position of the LCY Central Committee Commission for the History of the CPY/LCY, which has been passed on to the LCY Presidium, is that in the future they should not publish separate presentations by individuals in high forums, but that everything should be published at once, in context. The Presidium has also been informed (on 5 May 1983) that "for example, according to some sources that can be regarded as reliable, Vladimir Dedijer has at his disposal the complete magnetogram notes from the sessions of the Executive Bureau between the 9th and 10th LCY Congresses. In contradiction of legal obligations, these documents were given to him by one of those who had them without authorization."

#### Tito's Archive

The current wave of archive openings, which in places are overwhelming, is very broad. Soon the Archive of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs is to publish two volumes of foreign policy documents of the new Yugoslavia. In the so-called "blue volume" it will publish materials that have already appeared, now all in one place for the first time, while the second, "red volume" will have previously unpublished materials.

Tito's archive as well ("The Archives of Josip Broz Tito with Library") is to be published in full. Darinka Filipovic, the director of this archive, tells us that now all the materials (including those from Brioni and from the Presidential Residence) has been gathered in one place. It is now being classified, a process that will take until year's end.

The activity surrounding Tito's archive and library (11,000 books) is regulated by the Law on the Memorial Center, while public use of the materials and parts of it is determined by the director of the Center and its Council (presently by the acting director, while the Center still has not been fully organized under self-management provisions, although that is in progress).

Besides the materials that it presently has, the archive is gathering more. Since this is a matter of scholarship, there is no sort of "discrimination" in it. The materials are even being gathered from former leaders. Thus the LCY Central Committee archive has already prepared the recollections of

Milovan Djilas that relate to 1929-1941, and the recollections of Sreten Zujovic on the immediate prewar period and the war years are also included in the archive. (The archive has also obtained the recollections of Josip Kopinic in conversations with him, but these do not have his authorization; the Belgrade archive and the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement in Serbia expects to receive the recollections of Aleksandar Rankovic for the interwar period.)

An announcement from the LCY Central Committee Commission for the History of the KPY/LCY states among other things that "the long-term revolutionary work of individual functionaries has created and preserved a large amount of personally written documentation from the interwar, wartime and postwar periods. Keeping in mind that the archival materials of the KPY, as well as other sociopolitical organizations, are often incomplete, this personal documentation represents an essential supplement to the basic official archival documentation. In addition, personal archival materials often contain documents of agencies and organizations where the individual in question worked. In the last 10 years, thanks to methods of information and the ever more highly developed means for making copies, many materials have been copied in uncontrolled ways and put into circulation without complete approval. With growing habits of retaining all manner of materials, personal archives are increasingly a combination of personal and general documentation. According to reliable information, many individuals have very rich personal archives and collections of documentation.

Legal regulations stipulate that personal archives that have broader social significance are subject to official registration and approval, and their owners cannot dispose of them without the agreement of authorized archives. In the indicated announcement, the Commission for the History of the LCY wrote further: "In cooperation with party archives in republics and provinces, as well as contributors of materials, decisions will be made on the storage of personal archives and other collections of documents in the Archive of the LCY Central Committee or in the appropriate archives of republics and provinces."

Without doubt, the gathering of new archival materials and the publication of old will be of enormous significance, not only for the history of the Party but for the Party itself. The work on that history will be continued on Friday on the Island of Brioni, where the Editorial Board for the History of the CPY/LCY will consider the latest remarks on that book's content. In part that is because the most recent history of the Party is not being written for so-called daily use. Its new history will not be official, but it will be representative. Although its work will be in parity in technological terms, with every federal unit having a corresponding commission for this history, its content need not preserve that parity, or to some, that false symmetry. (The degree to which it will succeed in avoiding the confines of our so-called territorial scholarship will be seen at the end of the year, when the book is finally to be published.)

We mention the work on Party history here because its archives show that once it was not only much more unified organizationally, but also the common party

of Yugoslavia. Dr Milovan Vesic said: "There is a multitude of archival materials and other types of historical sources, not only of party origin but about our common cause in general.

"Those sources should be interpreted authentically and published in more massive ways. Unfortunately, we are witnesses of increasingly frequent publications about our differences, peculiarities and expressly unique features, and most often these are politicized texts based on (doubtful) scientific arguments." (In this sort of context it sounds particularly resonant to hear two very illustrative and apparently centrifugal theses from DZr Stipe Suvar, expressed recently in Ljubljana at a public meeting of historians: "1 We are not in favor of every sort of Yugoslavia. 2. We are not for Yugoslavia at any cost.")

The question is, how did each historian perceive that statement?

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## CATHOLIC PAPER NOTES IMPLICATIONS OF LC VIEWS ON RELIGION

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Anxiety Before Mother Mary"]

[Text] At the Marija Bistrica shrine the cardinal had once again to speak about the votive pilgrimage of the religious people of our capital city of Zagreb, speaking with a troubled heart of many individuals who are religious. He spoke about the real equality between those who are religious and those who are not, about the real freedom of our citizens to decide quite freely either for religion or for atheism. The occasion for this speech is well known, although the cardinal did not explicitly mention it. In our public in past weeks a number of articles have appeared reporting that the high bodies of the League of Communists in Yugoslavia and in Croatia have decided to bring up-to-date what has always been in the LCY Program, that is, that a religious man cannot be a member of the League of Communists. We should immediately point out that it is every organization's right to decide about the attributes necessary for its members, that is, about the conditions of membership. But it is a fact that the League of Communists is not just some organization, but the leading political force in this state, that the League of Communists--as we recently read on the front page of VJESNIK--has assumed responsibility for this sociopolitical community. That is why responsible people in the government demand and expect the entire citizenry to trust the League of Communists. It is therefore quite understandable that those individuals who are religious, who represent a majority of citizens, cannot be indifferent to the views of the League of Communists which have to do with religion and religious people. In a meeting of the LCY Commission for Bylaws Affairs, as we were informed by POLITIKA, BORBA and other newspapers on 29 June (carrying the TANJUG report), it was not only set forth that membership in the LCY was incompatible with any sort of religious belief, but there was also the following programmatic assertion in those reports: "Atheism is the view which communists hold of the world, and they are required to pass that view on to others as well, but the League of Communists has largely neglected the political-ideological effort in the atheistic upbringing of the young. That is why today the churches are becoming ever more present in life, in organizing day nurseries, disco clubs, in helping the poor and the like." Leave to one side the typical vagueness of this text, in which aid to the poor, that is, the Catholic Caritas, which is an inseparable part of Catholic religious practice, is referred to in the same breath as certain disco clubs which the church has supposedly organized

somewhere, which is an out-and-out falsehood. For the individual who is religious it is important and deeply disturbing to learn that our domestic communists have not only to be atheists, but must also propagate their atheism. Once again, to make ourselves clear, a free man can, of course, freely propose his conviction to another. But here we are talking about people who make up the main body in the bodies of government and who are now publicly called upon to demonstrate their allegiance to the league by spreading atheism. The standards by which that effort of theirs is to be measured were also proposed: they are the success or failure of the church in its regular pastoral work, especially in bringing young religious people together. How far this might go is shown by an article in BORBA on 29 June, which in the report on the meeting referred to contains the following passage: "At the meeting of the LCY it was said that the activity of the Catholic Church had become stronger in this milieu and that it is a particularly interesting datum that it is doing this even in families which contain members of the League of Communists." That is exactly what it said. Which would mean that if there was just one communist in a family, it is his duty to prevent the influence of the church on all the other members of the family. Where would that lead us? Yes, the church has been reproached so many times for opposing mixed marriages, although it does allow them and bless them (although it warns that it is difficult to build a marital community without joint belief), while here it is being demanded that the party member demand unconditional atheism from everyone in his own household, first of all, certainly, from his spouse. Would this not amount to a virtual ban on mixed marriages between atheists and religious people?

Now who is dividing citizens on the basis of faith or atheism? The newspaper reports on this case are obviously not sufficiently clear or at least not sufficiently thought through. It is probable that a campaign along these lines will not be consistently continued, since--dare we ask in public--who has any need for that at this point? But it was said, and it was written, and it has been proclaimed. In vain did our Zagreb echo of that meeting, in an article entitled "The Cross Behind the Star" by Branko Vlahovic, attempt consolation with these words: "A real believer has no reasons to conceal his piety, since this is guaranteed him even by the constitution. In our society all citizens have the same rights...." However, there has been no public response either about the teacher in Donji Vakuf who was prevented by a court order from teaching his subject because he is religious, and we will not enumerate the other cases. It is obvious that a young man who is a convinced and active believer has reasons not to stress this if he wants to become involved in public affairs, if he wants to achieve what he is capable of in this society. While his atheistic counterpart has every reason to emphasize and propagate his atheism. It is in vain to mitigate this with nice-sounding declarations. The young believer feels uncomfortable. Believers remain concerned. And it is understandable that they should think about this out loud, that they should entrust their concern to Jesus, Son of Mary, to whom they have come at these same votive shrines in all their historic difficulties. This is a religious community with a very rich historical experience, of a Mother which has never disappointed them, and it is understandable that they should have unshakable trust in the cardinal's last appeal for conversion and for peace.

CONFUSION OVER USE OF FLAGS BY ETHNIC GROUPS DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1697, 10 Jul 83  
pp 16-18

[Article by Zvonko Simic]

[Text] Basic decisions about flags are clear and undisputable, but there are many sensitive details. It is best, perhaps, as always, to agree, to agree--to agree with each other that flags do not divide us.

The Assembly of Serbia at a meeting of its Sociopolitical Committee on 1 July launched an initiative to regulate the use of the flags of nationalities by agreement in the Federation. The form of this agreement is not exact in its demands, but it does say that some basic questions concerning the use of the flags of nationalities must be answered on the basis of unity for the entire country, because that is in the interest of all the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. Most importantly, it suggests that the flags of nationalities, in form and content, must reflect the sovereignty and integrity of Yugoslavia. This position is taken from Tito's introductory statement to the Ninth LCY Congress, when he said, among other things: "As far as flags are concerned, about which enough has already been said, Albanians in our country must have them, but those flags, in all cases, have to be in accord with the state sovereignty and integrity of Yugoslavia. A clear-cut regulation about that must be passed."

The Assembly of Serbia thinks that a joint, "federal" solution should answer the question of who can unfurl a flag belonging to a nationality and when that can be done. The joint position should be that a nationality's flag can be used only with that of the SFRJ and the republic, and then, only when these flags are used in "other occasions foreseen by law."

Practically, all other questions concerning the use of the flags of nationalities should be regulated by republican law.

We are entering the vacation season, and this question will probably not be placed on the federal agenda before fall.

## The Flag of a Nationality Province

Ten days before the Assembly of Serbia officially launched this initiative, the Coordinating Committee for International Relations of the republican conference of the Serbian SAWP held a meeting, and on this occasion, Milivoje Draskovic, a member of this committee, responding to comments, stressed that the initiative in general does not deal with the flag of any specific nationality. Rather, it insists that this question be regulated by law in all republics and provinces in a uniform manner. He further said, that it is a question when a flag is no longer a private matter; a flag cannot be raised without a reason, it can be a political provocation. The flag of a nationality is not also the flag of a province. When these relations are better regulated, there will be fewer undesired manifestations and excesses.

Draskovic is the president of the Republican Committee for Legislation, and responded to the comment of Ismail Mikulovciji from Kosovo that every demand for the raising of this question is unassociated with earlier positions. Mikulovciji stressed that the flag of the Albanian nationality has a revolutionary tradition and even though enemies gathered under it during the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, that does not mean that this flag must now be changed (this is quoted from the report in BORBA).

## The View from Montenegro

One other initiative concerning the uniform use of a nationality's flag was launched in winter by a line of the Socialist League. The Presidium of the Montenegrin republican conference of the SAWP launched it citing demands from five Montenegrin communes where adherents of the Albanian nationality live in great numbers (Bar, Plav, Pozaje, Titograd, Ulcinj). Then, Jusuf Kalamperovic, secretary of the Communal Committee of the Bar LC, said at a meeting of politico-economic activists of the commune: "We do not want a flag under which our enemy gathers--the conclusion from all the meetings held in the regions where adherents of the Albanian nationality live is uniform and categorical. Their demand was satisfied. The Albanian flag in this region of our commune has not been displayed since the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo. At the same time, we support the wish to solve uniformly the question of the flag of the Albanian nationality in the entire country. Otherwise, I can freely say that the relations between nationalities in the region of the Bar commune are not only good, but ideal. That is the tradition of this region, and that unity has withstood the most difficult experiences during the war."

Indeed, flags of the Albanian nationality are not hanging now in Montenegro. Approximately a year ago, let's say, it was seen in the shops and working organizations of Ulcinj, as well as in the offices of SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs]. One parcel of Albanian flags, worth 850,000 dinars, which arrived in an Ulcinj shop from an enterprise in Kosovo, was returned to the sender. According to one article in Titograd's POBJEDA, which can be assumed to express the position of the republic's leadership, that will last "as long as there are not uniform positions in the country concerning the use and problem of the flag."

At the end of February, POBJEDA, in its mentioned commentary under the title, "Whose Flag Does Bajra Reach For?", cited two fundamental reasons for this position: "First, because this deals with the flag of the People's Republic of Albania, and second, the great Albanian irredenta misused this flag in the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo."

The motive behind POBJEDA's commentary was the statement of Ismail Bajra, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC and a political activist in the commune of Dragas, when he (according to BORBA) said, "If in individual areas of the country, as some public journals stress, adherents of the Albanian nationality reject their own national flag, which was won in the National War of Liberation and the revolution, and others see this 'rejection' of constitutional national freedoms and rights broadmindedly as 'international' behavior, then that is a serious sign that in these areas there is something wrong in the political climate and with the policies of the LCY and of Comrade Tito about the equality of peoples and nationalities."

The fervor of the discussion about the nationalities' flag was even felt in the March session of the LCY Central Committee, and even here with differing accents. Sanije Hiseni said at that time that "no one dares as an individual or a group or narrow association to speak in the name of a nation or nationality--as was the case with the initiation of the question of the use of the Albanian national flag in Ulcinj. An attack on one segment of national equality is an attack on the entire policy of national equality, and that demands the engagement of all communists, independent of the nation to which they belong."

#### Wartime Flags

In their many letters to NIN, readers have written much about flags in general, about the flags of nationalities, and specifically about the flag of the Albanian nationality. The Presidium of the Second Local Association of the SAWP in Pristina wrote to us: "It must be clear to the editors of NIN, who deal with readers' letters, that the Albanians in Yugoslavia during the National War of Liberation shed their blood together with the other fraternal peoples and nationalities even under the red flag with the two-headed eagle and five-pointed star." This theme has also appeared in other places and under different circumstances. NIN received another letter in which Radomir Lalovic and Slavko Radovic, representing themselves as fighters from Kosovo from 1941, one the chief of staff of a brigade, and the other a commissar of a battalion, claim that "units of the National Liberation Army which were formed in Kosovo and Metohija and in which were fighters of all nationalities from those territories, never shed blood in the war under the flag with the two-headed eagle and five-pointed star, because that was the flag of another country and another army."

Recently, when we wanted to take pictures of the battle flags of the Kosovo units in the Military Museum in Belgrade, Col Stevan Kovacevic, who has studied our battle flags for many years, told us that the museum has only one flag from Kosovo. On a red background is written, "The First Kosovo Brigade" (we were not allowed to take a picture of it). He wrote, he said, to museums throughout the country and received descriptions of the flags in their possession. No one described our partisan flag with a black eagle on a red field. "Perhaps such flags exist somewhere in museums in Kosovo, but I do not know about them. Nor have I seen photographs of them," Kovacevic said.

Surely, the eagle flag fought in Kosovo and against fascism, at least at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, when the 5th and 6th divisions of the Albanian National Liberation Army together with our units participated in the liberation of Kosovo and of other regions, reaching as far as Visegrad.

Recently, in Pristina, at one ceremony, Fadilj Hodza reminded his audience of the first order of the "Provisional General Staff of the National Liberation Partisan and Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia for Kosovo and Metohija"--as issued as 1 November 1942: "1. The flag of the general staff for Kosovo and Metohija is: the Albanian and Serbian national flag with the antifascist symbol of the five-pointed star in the middle, over the flag's entire width... 3. The national partisans on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija must have on their caps the following insignia: the antifascist symbol of the five-pointed red star with the national flags in a triangle over the star...." (cited in the Pristina JEDINSTVO).

A lawyer would have to criticize the lack of precision of these formulations. Was the eagle on the Albanian national flag of the general staff? Probably not, because, how was the five-pointed star placed "in the middle, over the flag's entire width"?

But if the formulations were not precise, the order's spirit was clear. The right to the nationalities' symbols, suppressed by the prewar regimes (both the nationalities and symbols), was consciously placed in the decisions of the National War of Liberation. It was a factor of equality. Hitherto it has only been expanded, never reduced.

After the Brioni Plenum

Forms are never strictly and consistently followed during war. In one photograph from liberated Kicevo in 1943 hung the Albanian and Macedonian flags from the balcony from where Tito was speaking; even with the aid of a magnifying glass, no trace of the five-pointed star can be found above the Albanian eagle.

A photograph of a parade of the liberation army in Tirana in November 1944 is found in "The History of Albania," prepared by authors from Tirana for French readers. The official podium from which the leadership saluted the troops was decorated with the two-headed eagle, but there was no five-pointed star above it. This was not unusual; the class component of the liberation struggle was not then stressed in the primary plan.

Therefore, there are some indications that the red star was attached to the Albanian state flag together with the consolidation of the new postwar Albanian state, and the form of this flag was completely suited to remind us of the sense of a foreign state at least in the deep and old traditions of the Albanian people in Kosovo and in Albania. Since the star was in a subordinate place on the flag, there would have to be two flags, although they had the same characteristics. So, the flag of the Albanian nationality is the only one here identical to that of some foreign country.

The red flag with the black eagle was waving when Ismailj Cemalj proclaimed the independence of Albania in Valona (Vlora) on 28 November 1912. Later, the Italians, as occupiers, added the symbol of the lictor, proclaiming it as the flag of Greater Albania under their tutelage. The liberation struggle threw the occupiers, along with the axes from their flag, into the sea. The cult of the flag exists in all nations; it would be difficult to find where it is more intense than in Albania.

The nationalities' flags were first freely hung after the Brioni Plenum. Besides the Albanian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Italian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Czechoslovak, Turkish and others, the Gypsy flag, green-blue with a yellow dot in the center, could be seen from then on (the Zagreb journalist, Zdenko Hlubna in a letter to NIN); here it had a red five-pointed star in the middle of the dot.

The form and content of the flag of the SFRJ was determined by the federal constitution. It has practically not changed since the war, although changes have been suggested in discussions about new constitutional amendments. (Someone has suggested a red flag with the gold countenance of Tito, the hammer and sickle and the coat of arms of the SFRJ.) The use of the flag of the SFRJ has been regulated by the law of 1947 on the use of the coat of arms, flag and hymn, and on the use of the countenance and name of President Tito. Only Macedonia of the republics has passed a law on the use of flags. Serbia is now considering such a law. We could not obtain the text of this law in the Republican Committee for Legislation. If the report of the Zagreb weekly, DANAS, is correct, the draft law's four articles speak about the nationalities' flags. Among other things, these flags must be differentiated from those of the motherlands.

#### Delicate Questions

The highest organs of the Socialist League discussed the issue of the nationalities' flags in November 1970, and those conclusions are the basis for today's practice. Even then it was said that it is a right of an adherent of a nationality, in nationally mixed regions determined by republican or provincial law, to equally display the flags of their nationality everywhere and on all occasions when the flag of the SFRJ or republic is usually displayed. The flag of a nationality is "that which the nationality has accepted as its own symbol," and "the five-pointed star with the national colors of the nationality is one of the most important symbols of the common revolutionary path...."

The lack of a regulation and varied practices require that an agreement be reached before the good and misuse of the flags become the points of departure. In BORBA's January poll, "How Should Flags Be Displayed?", it was cited that in some mixed areas the nationality's flag was placed in the central place, only then, came the state and republican flags. It also happened that these flags were of different shapes and sizes--an accidental or conscious misuse. A journalist from DUGA witnessed how a bus carrying a wedding party and full of flags--all the same, flags of a nationality--was driven in front of the Titograd SUP.

Can Slovenes hang their flag in Croatia, Croats theirs in Bosnia, Albanians in Serbia theirs outside the province and outside mixed towns? (Recently, Dusan Ckrebic, speaking in Urosevac, mentioned a disagreement in Pestera, which could have been of this type. "I hope that we have gone beyond this. We have not approved some local initiatives which sought to change the [unwritten] practice.")

An announcement by the authorities in Bosnia and Hercegovina sent to the cited poll of BORBA stated that there were no disagreements or misuses concerning the hanging of flags in the republic. The old practice is that the flags of the SFRJ, Bosnia and Hercegovina and the party are to be displayed on important dates and state holidays.

If we have read and understood properly, the Croatian and Serbian flags are not officially hung. Moslems, the most numerous people in the republic, do not have a national flag. That could be the reason. (Colleague Hlubna, in his already cited letter to NIN, says that units of the National Liberation Army composed of Moslems, carried red flags with a horizontal yellow half moon and a red star, but that was not accepted as a national flag.)

Although the basic concepts are clear and undisputable, there are many significant and sensitive issues concerning the details. "Practices in the country must be unified in order to prevent possible disagreements about questions concerning the use of flags," said Ckrebic in Urosevac. It would be best, as always, to agree, agree--agree among ourselves so that those who do not think or are malicious do not divide us by the aid of flags.

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YUGOSLAVIA

'TENDENTIOUS' WORK ON DEVELOPMENT OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Aug p 13

[Review by Mirko Arsic of the book "Stranacki Pluralizam ili Monizam" by Vojislav Kostunica and Kosta Cavoski, Center For Philosophy and Social Theory, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, 1983: "The Tendentious Reconstruction of History"]

[Text] The past is not a myth, and the future will be even less so--so one might concisely characterize a political appeal which is passionately defended and analyzed by many. One cannot, of course, discuss appeals of this type pragmatically, because one does not dare reduce to a "trivial" theme a pretension to report something new and important about individual periods and events from our recent history.

Even the most ordinary political hacks want to be great missionaries. Reconstructing the past to conform with their own political standards, they want to influence the future course of history--whether or not everything will be the way they planned it--when they have not even been able to influence the way things have gone up till now.

One interpretation of our revolutionary and post-revolutionary period is proclaimed to be the correct interpretation; its proponents get ready for battle not to further their point of view, but actually to provoke as much "debate" as possible. In this regard, special mention goes to those who claim that the history of socialism is overvalued--from the October Revolution to the present--but not in order to undertake thereupon the extremely delicate and by no means easy task of overvaluing our own history. The goal is to demonstrate, if not explicitly, then implicitly, that our recent history was something other than how we have perceived it. Details are extracted and shown to be characteristic throughout the historic events in question. The book "Stranacki pluralizam ili monizam" by Vojislav Kostunica and Kosta Casoski can be classed as a most tendentious "reconstruction" of our history and revolution.

The authors of the treatise "Stranacki pluralizam ili monizam" have chosen--not by accident--the period from 1944 to 1949 (in matters of this sort, nothing is accidental anyway), because in many respects it is provocative and characteristic--for revolutionaries almost as much as for

conservatives. We might also add that this crucial period of our recent political history is essentially controversial for conservatives (as is, of course, the War of National Liberation itself). This is a period of far-reaching changes, as revealed in this book, changes which have affected the present. The authors are even more explicit when they claim that this was a time in which "the creative role of political skill was truly in action." But they clarify this first of all, by saying that this was a period of "revolutionary Machiavellism": the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY] created a new, one-party, authoritarian, political system by force or by cunning, and destroyed the old, multiparty system.

#### The "Cunning" of the CPY

The book says that there was actually an "attempt to implement the communistic principle in its Bolshevik variant" in the time period mentioned above. Kostunica and Cavoski furthermore believe that this attempt, regardless of occasional political turns in Yugoslavia since 1949, has not undergone any essential amendments up to the present time.

To see how the CPY was a part of the Bolshevik type of party up till the turning point of 1948--at least in a declarative sense, and not so much on the eve of and during the war (the disputes between the CPY and the Comintern, i.e., Stalin, speak of this eloquently)--we turn to the basic thesis of this book. How and why did the liquidation of the "unique partisan pluralism come about, and by this very act, how and why did monocentrism, or partisan monism of the CPY, come to be established.

How did this come about?

The Liberation Front of Slovenia is typical in this regard. The political groups which made up the Liberation Front (the Communist Party of Slovenia, the Christian Socialists, the Sokols, and a group of intellectuals) were completely equal in the beginning, although, as Joze Javorsek says, the communists "held" everything in their hands--"the whole operation, especially the army, the press, the radio." The Communist Party of Slovenia initiated a meeting in which these groups were unified. However, what happened? Edvard Kocbek makes this point: "I knew that the differences between us, the spontaneous rebels, and them, the professional revolutionaries, were too great." Kostunica and Cavoski insist that the Liberation Front was a partisan coalition, and this means that "partisan pluralism was legitimate" for the CPY "and that individual noncommunist groups and parties readily made a significant contribution to organizing the national uprising and to carrying out successfully the War of National Liberation." The so-called Dolomitska Declaration forcibly put an end to this pluralism (1 May 1943), and the Communist Party of Slovenia placed itself in a position of a hegemonic force. By this logic, the Dolomitska Declaration is almost a political crime committed by the Communist Party of Slovenia, because with this act it liquidated, both formally and factually, all forms of pluralism within the liberation movement. If the party had not wanted to do this, the act would not have been performed. This is why they also quote Kocbek: "The worse thing was that the party used force in its efforts. The fatal blow was

delivered to our groups... The party abolished the equality in the liberation movement and began to create its own exclusive authority. A silent terror was put into effect."

Something similar also took place in Croatia. In Serbia, the National Front was created only after the liberation of Belgrade, although local agreements between the communists and other parties concerning joint participation in the War of National Liberation were concluded as early as the first days of the uprising. The authors, as precise as they are inventive, conclude: therefore, the leadership of the CPY was against the dictatorship of one party, and was for partisan pluralism.

Using deceit, they say, the CPY did everything it could to "devour" party pluralism, even during the War of National Liberation. This also took place right after the war. Parties which joined the National Front each lost their individuality, and the CPY took over the leadership in these parties, that is, the hegemonic role. The National Front became the vehicle of the party. The abolition of multiparty pluralism, illusory, and thus unique, can best be followed in the fate of Dragoljub Jovanovic (National Farmer's Party), as reported by the authors of "Stranacki pluralizam ili monizam." First of all he was an ally of the CPY in the National Front, then was their fellow traveler, and finally he finished his political career as an enemy of the people. "Until the elections for the Constitutional Assembly, Dragoljub Jovanovic was a loyal ally. After the elections, he, like many politicians from noncommunist parties, quickly was reduced to being along for the ride, and when he opposed this, to being an 'enemy of the people.'" Taking the floor in a discussion about the draft constitution on 11 December 1945, Jovanovic is quoted as having challenged the exclusive "extra-constitutional status" of the CPY, saying: "The first Yugoslavia fell because there were many nations in it and only one ruled; the second will fall if only one party is allowed to rule."

#### The National Front--the Antipode to Partisan Pluralism

The positions of those heading the CPY were clear concerning whether there would or would not be partisan pluralism after the war. Tito often spoke about this. For example: "And to someone who will not be part of the front, who wants his own party, we say 'let him go, let him create a party.' We won't bother him, and I don't think we'll find it too hard to count up his followers." Later, Tito made the point that opposition outside the National Front did not have followers, and that their numbers were not hard to count. But the authors of the book, using their own logic, stress that Tito was sometimes for and sometimes against a multiparty system. For that reason, it came about that the National Front became "a real antipode to partisan pluralism." This thesis follows: the CPY was for one thing in words, and worked for something else in reality. But in every revolution, strategy is one thing and tactics something else; the most essential thing in all of this is that the tactics of the CPY had not "devoured" its strategic orientation. In this book, wisdom is easily and maliciously declared to be cunning.

Can multiparty pluralism in the period between 1944 and 1949 be based on any sort of historical legitimacy? Since the writers of this work constantly quote Branko Petranovic, so will we. In his first book, "Revolucija i kontrarevolucija, u Jugoslaviji (1941-1945)" Petranovic writes decisively: **"/For the bourgeois parties with antifascist sympathies/ [passage in boldface] (M.A.'s emphasis) the uprising was equal to adventure, political suicide, and the biological imperilment of national existence. After the loss of the army and the disintegration of the authority of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, part of the bourgeois forces which had ruled until that time, fearing for their position and the bourgeois system of authority, tied in with the Germans and the Italians as their 'national and class protectors,' and the others placed themselves under the protection of the Western democratic states."** Therefore, no multiparty system was considered, because the revolution itself between 1941 and 1945 closed the books on it.

So to what can the sense of the thesis in the book under consideration be reduced?

To the fact that despotism and an intolerance for other political configurations, whether their provenance be left or right, is a part of the very essence of the communist organization, in this case the CPY. Regardless of the historical context in which it functions, the bolshevized Communist Party cannot help but become a monopolized political force of the leading force of society.

#### Two Worlds

From the point of view of the authors of this book, the CPY missed a historic chance during the period from 1944 to 1949 to settle accounts with all of its dogmatic sins, to throw out militant bolshevism, to accept political pluralism (or, the multiparty system), and to move along the path of a liberal democracy. By eliminating the opposition outside the National Front and the opposing political parties within the National Front itself, every opportunity in this regard was reduced to nothing. The circle, the book decisively maintains, was closed. Here is one of the nostalgic places in the book: "In this way both the tensions between the liberal and bolshevik ideology and the movements on Yugoslavia soil reached their height. The circle was closed. This was a meeting of two worlds, a meeting of people who mutually could neither understand nor believe in the advantages of one's own point of view. Only later will the political development of Yugoslavia gradually demonstrate that the one democratic core whose value is universal existed in the political idea of liberalism, and that, by discarding it, freedom itself was threatened."

Thus, the political development of Yugoslavia after 1949 was marked by discarding and negating a revolutionary core, i.e., we assumed an undemocratic, bolshevik, authoritarian direction for our political development. The reason is the following: History only exists to show in what way we are right, and if it does not show this, so much the worse for history.

We would be amiss if we did not discuss another revealing factor. Nowhere in their book do Kostunica and Cavoški speak about the CPY as a party in "the large, historical sense." In this book the CPY is--only this and nothing more--"the ruling political party." The CPY and all other political parties, are but on an equal level, and this done with a clear conscience. Apparently, for this reason, these authors cannot understand the logos of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

It is worth noting that by quoting speeches and statements of the highest leadership in the CPY, the book "Stranacki pluralizam ili monizam" obsessively tries to show that these leaders were wrong--not from the standpoint of Marxism, but from the standpoint of political pluralism. Moreover, in "reconstructing" the politically quite creative period from 1944 to 1949, Kostunica and Cavoški have explicitly avoided Marxist analysis, and even, Marxist rhetoric, and have bowed to the viewpoint of "liberal democracy" to the greatest possible extent. In this way, this extremely controversial and tendentious book is almost without precedent in our postwar history. For this reason, at the very first glance an unconcealed sympathy is apparent for what was written and spoken about by the leaders of other political parties (Dragoljub Jovanović, Milan Grol, and others). The authors are concerned with the speeches and remarks of the leading members of the CPY only to the extent that these speeches and remarks are able to satisfy their own logical criteria, which are cited to the extreme.

Zagorka Golubović signed the book in the name of the publisher, Dragoljub Micunović was the editor, Nebojša Popov and Svetozar Stojanović reviewed it.

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